

# PHŒNICIA AND WESTERN ASIA TO THE MACEDONIAN CONQUEST

*by*

RAYMOND WEILL

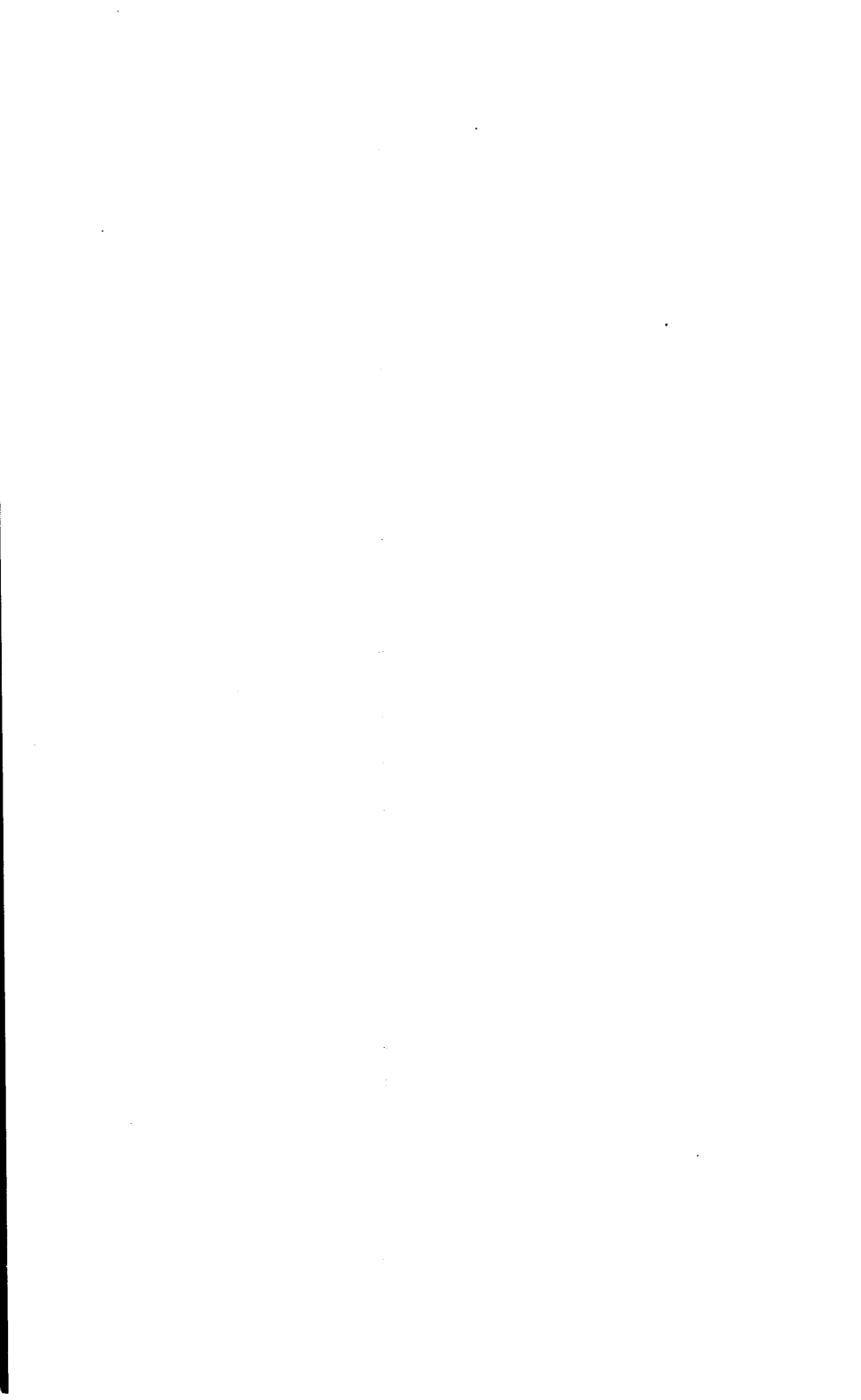
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ARES PUBLISHERS INC.  
CHICAGO MCMLXXX



## PREFACE

A TINY land, comprising a coastwise road on a narrow strip of plain stretching from north to south between the sea and the mountains, bounded at one end by the shores of northern Syria and at the other by the slope that descends from the Palestine highlands to the sea, and having for hinterland, behind the barrier formed by the coast range, the land of Syria proper, along the rivers flowing parallel to the coast. Such, geographically, is Phœnicia, the middle section of the great amphitheatre bounded by Egypt and Asia Minor, facing the western sea whose waters laved the famous ports of Tyre and Sidon, Byblus, Berytus, and Aradus, of such antiquity that even the legend of the gods retained no memory of their origins.

This coast belonged to purely Semitic peoples, related to the Amorites of the north and established there from far distant prehistoric times. The towns were so many small and politically independent states, but together they formed a homogeneous world with strongly marked material and moral characteristics, which were those of a community of navigators and merchants. There had developed among these peoples a culture akin to the civilization of their cousins in pre-Babylonian Mesopotamia, directed entirely, like the latter, to the utilitarian aspect of everything, especially religious activities, but remarkable at the same time for a certain intellectual freedom and a tendency toward a straightforward explanation of the nature of human life which had its root in their mentality as

travellers to distant lands, accustomed to various images and used to asking questions and trying to understand. And as they thought, so they could act: in defence and in enterprise, in war and in business, often fighting among themselves, always in fierce rivalry on the sea routes. A Phœnician people, on board its ships and around its towns, was a community characterized by independence, intelligence, and hardihood.

Phœnician sea routes leading to all shores, however, were only one element in the network of communications between Europe, Africa, and Asia at all periods of history. At the centre of this network was Phœnicia, skirted or traversed by roads, and so placed that its geographical definition might be completed by describing it as the meeting-place of several great intercontinental routes. Anyone wishing to travel from Egypt to Babylonia had first to reach the interior of Upper Syria, the modern region of Aleppo, where all the roads from the middle Euphrates to the Mediterranean converged and sorted themselves out. To go up from the mouths of the Nile to Aleppo it was indeed possible to take the land route by way of the isthmus, the desert, the Palestine steppe, and then the main road of inland Syria, but it was far less wearisome to reach the Phœnician coast by sea and continue along that coast, either by the land route or by a coasting-vessel, as far as the edge of the mountain passes that lead directly eastward into Upper Syria—the usual route followed by Egyptian invaders of Asia. As for the traveller from Mesopotamia to the West, he would ascend the Euphrates as far as the extremity of the great bend of the river and then turn westward by one of the main routes. After reaching the Aleppo region



he would continue straight on if his destination was in Asia Minor or further in the same direction, but if he was bound for anywhere in the Aegean, Crete, or the Hellenic peninsula, or Libya, or Egypt, he would have no alternative but to go down to the Phœnician coast and take the most convenient port of embarkation.

This arrangement of the main lines of communication through Phœnicia, which was in physical control of this coast among the peoples of the maritime basin and of Hither Asia, was bound to a great extent to determine the events of her history from the earliest beginnings, or at least the events of her political history, for the Phœnician land was small in extent and unlikely, apart from her formidable maritime defences, to resist by force the attacks of the conquering Egyptians, Hittites of Asia Minor, Assyrians, Babylonians, and Persians, who for thousands of years made use of her roads and requisitioned her ports. It is a very remarkable fact that the moral structure of the Phœnicio-Syrian lands was never appreciably affected by their incorporation in these various imperial organizations. On the contrary, we find that these Asiatics invaded and enriched the culture of their conquerors. This is particularly noticeable in Egypt, in the brilliant period of the Theban Empire in the last centuries of the second millennium, for the influx of Semitic languages and customs from Asia at that time recalls the distant memory of the movements and migrations of peoples in days before history, when the earliest ancestors of the Asiatic Semites entered the Nile valley in large numbers and brought to it, not only their language, their material civilization, and the paraphernalia of the great "natural" religions, but also a large part of the cultural wealth of Further Egypt. And the descendants

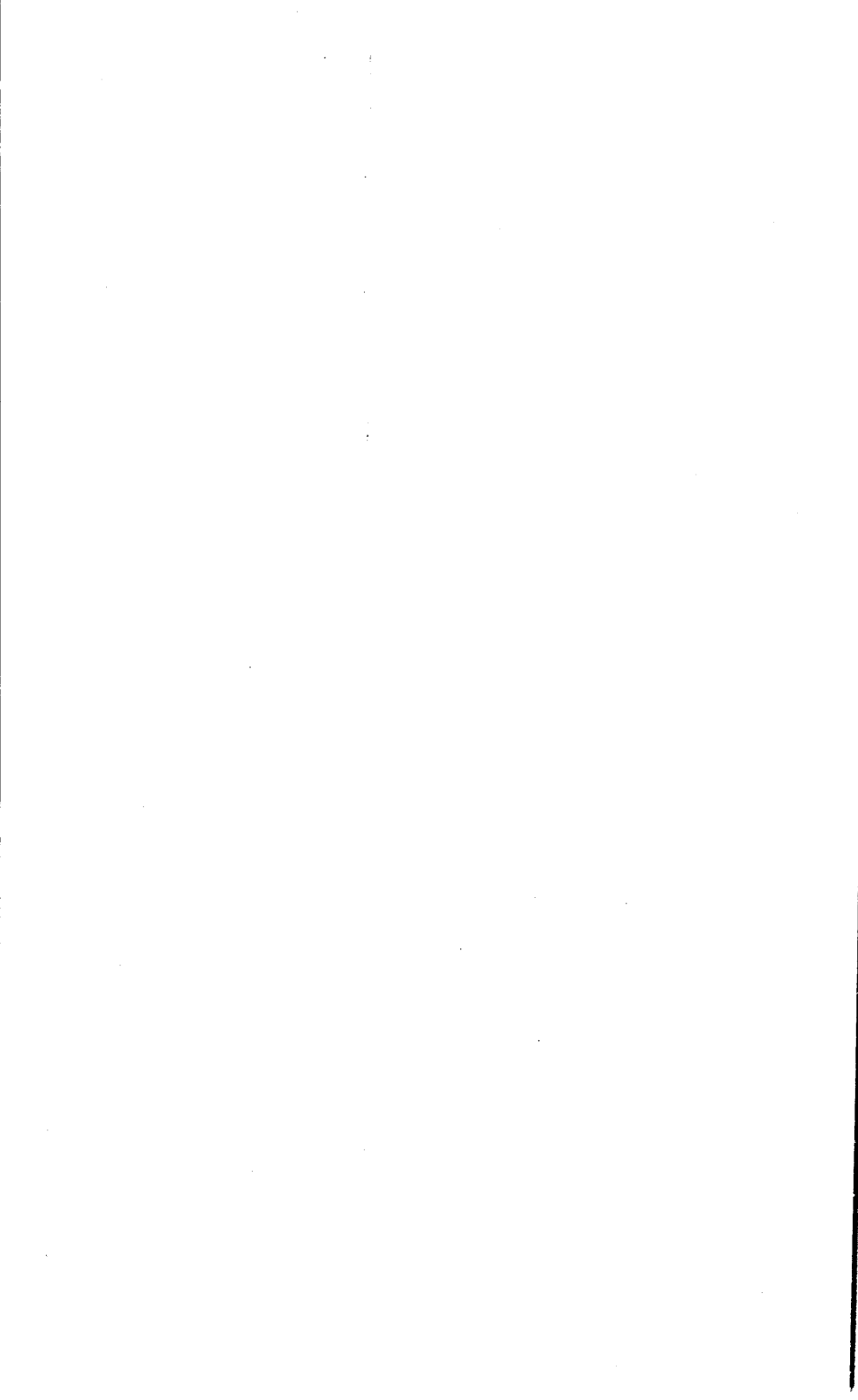
of these same people in Asia, the Semites of Canaan and the surrounding district, must have remained always impervious to any real influence from without. The historian is surprised when he finds, for instance, that the Israelites of the Royal period, whose ancestors were established in Palestine in the thirteenth or twelfth century and had undoubtedly known the regime of the suzerainty of the Pharaonic empire, retained not the slightest memory of this chapter of their national history. But it may be that at Sidon or Aradus or one of those places in Canaan of which we find many dramatic dealings with the Egyptian authority of the New Empire, we should find the same forgetfulness of early political vicissitudes, if their annals, compiled and written down in the eighth century, had come down to us.

Such a special tendency as this helps us to understand why the history of Phœnicia and the entire Canaanite realm is known to us particularly through our knowledge of the great lands outside, obtained from their own historical documents. And a similar situation explains also why Phœnician events are rarely described by modern historians for their own sake, so to speak, and continuously, and why they are treated rather in accordance with the requirements of Egyptian history or that of the imperial power of Asia and its enterprises in Egypt or the Mediterranean West. In contrast to this, we intend that the history in this book shall have Phœnicia for its central theme. This is not by any means to say that it is necessary or desirable to confine our attention to the narrow theatre of this coastal land, whose acts and fortunes can be elucidated at any given moment only in conjunction with conditions in the great world surrounding it. It has seemed to us that

the needs of the situation would be met by making this book a history of the Mediterranean Near East in its relations with Phœnicia, *i.e. from the Phœnician point of view*—or, to put it briefly, as it would have been recorded by an observer stationed at Tyre or Sidon for three thousand years, who would have taken note from that spot of happenings in Asia, the Mediterranean, and Egypt, within the circle of the visible world.

Throughout this book the reader will find more of what is properly called *history* than of archæology, history of art, or history of material civilization, on which subjects, so far as Phœnicia is concerned, he is so well provided with information elsewhere that we can pass over it lightly here. On the other hand, in the realm of cultural history we have given attention to important questions that are still matters of debate or that have not yet been clearly explained—notably the question of the invention of alphabetical writing. Generally speaking, we have been careful always to keep our exposition on the synthetic plane, but always with the purpose also of not shirking a difficulty when it exists, but of giving the means of forming a judgment on such questions—setting problems, in fact. Subject to this reservation we have perhaps succeeded in getting a true picture of the history of this Syro-Mediterranean realm of which Phœnicia is the most remarkable centre.

In conclusion, we should like to express our thanks to Mme Cusinberche-Pathé, who has collaborated in the preparation of this book with great zeal and the most perfect devotion.



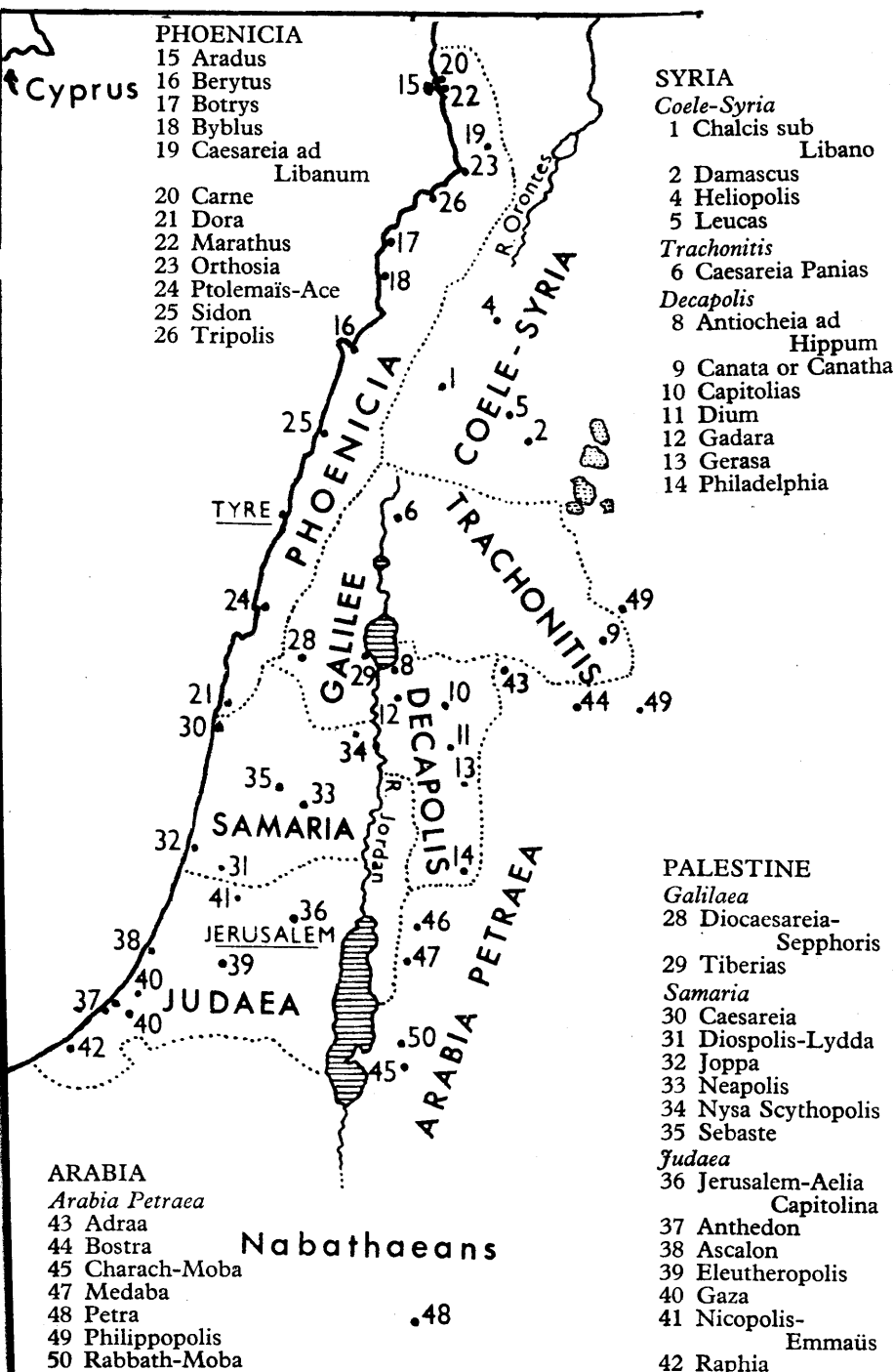
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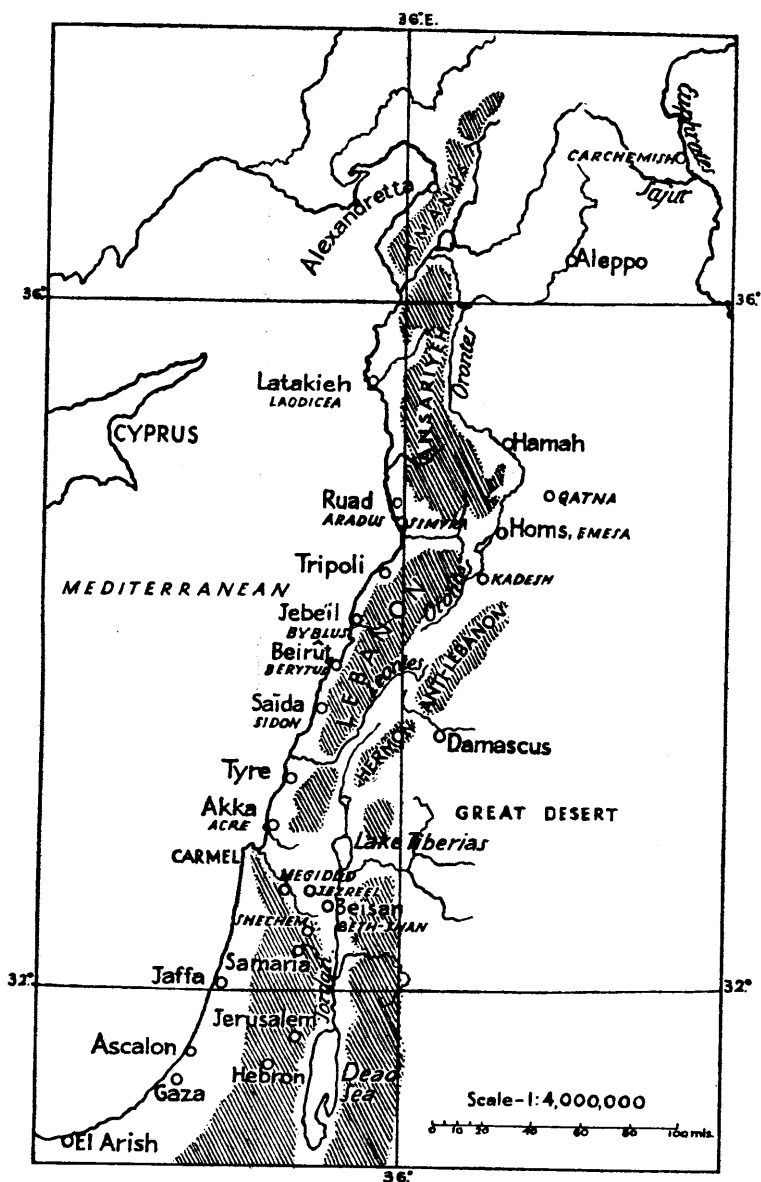
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PHOENICIA: THE GEOGRAPHICAL SETTING



## CHAPTER I

### PHŒNICIA: ITS GEOGRAPHICAL SETTING, CONFIGURATION, AND TOWNS

FROM the Gulf of Alexandretta at its northern extremity where it joins Asia Minor, to the frontiers of Egypt in the south, in the neighbourhood of Gaza, the eastern coast of the Mediterranean extends in a north and south direction for a distance of some 400 miles. Of this coast Phœnicia is roughly the middle third, from Aradus (the modern Ruad) in the north to Mount Carmel in the south. As far as the coast is concerned it is the principal part of what is to-day called Syria, of which the coast town of Beirut is the centre and capital, and which numbered among its most famous towns along this coast Byblus (Jebeil), Berytus (Beirut), Sidon, Tyre, Tripoli, and Aradus to the north. This definition of the country is approximate and somewhat conventional: it is the one that answers to the meaning of "Phœnicia" in classical Greek geography. But are these boundaries those of an ethnological, geographical, and historical entity that is real and, above all, permanent?

The scope of the name "Phœnicia" may have changed through the centuries before the classical period, and we have known for some years that about 1300 B.C. as far up as Latakiah, a long way to the north of Aradus, there was an important national centre of a people who were Phœnician in all their characteristics. This was not a colony, but the real primitive Phœnicia was far more widely extended than in the Greek acceptance of the

name. And even in Greek tradition itself we can follow the gradual narrowing of the term in its later stages.

In the great variety of city legends among the Greeks we constantly note the appearance of the memory of founders who came from distant lands. Among these traditional heroes are Cecrops, founder of Athens, who came from Egypt, and Inachus, who arrived in Argos with an Egyptian or Libyan colony and whose successors were dethroned, several centuries later, by Danaus, coming also from Egypt. The descendants of the latter were in their turn dispossessed by Pelops, son of Tantalus, king of Phrygia and father of Atreus in the legend of Mycenæ. And there was also Cadmus, founder of Thebes, the brother of Phoenix, the Phœnician *par excellence*.

So we find Egypt, Libya, and Phrygia (north-west Asia Minor) in company with Phœnicia itself. And in legendary tradition it seems that all these countries were related. Similarly, too, Cadmus and Phoenix are shown as brothers of Thasos (in the Aegean) and Cilix (Cilicia), or else Cilix is one of the many sons of Phoenix, whose name thus seems to stand for the regions of north-west Asia Minor as well as for the islands of the neighbouring sea.

We learn also, in another direction, that Phœnicia is a name for Caria, and therefore for south-west Asia Minor, and also that Phœnicia is Colchis (Black Sea, between the Caucasus and Armenia), and therefore north-east Asia Minor. It results from this that the name *Phœnicia* covered the four corners of Asia Minor as well as the islands, and meant, in the primitive Hellenic use of the term, no less than the entire extent of the Aegeo-Asiatic world.

But the Cadmus and Phoenix of the legends stand

also in very close relationship to Sidon, so we have to acknowledge that, on the whole, *Phœnicia* was at the beginning of Hellenic times a very wide term, covering the whole of the seas and the Aegean world, including the Asianic coasts and those of the Gulf of Syria.

This wide denotation of the name is understandable enough if we remark that before the first millennium, about the year 1500 and after, the entire eastern basin of the Mediterranean had been occupied by a single brilliant and highly developed civilization. In its great period this civilization had been centred in Crete, about the year 2000, and had then spread out, still developing, until what may be called the *Aegeo-Mycenæan* or *Aegeo-Asianic* period, about 1400 and later, when it held sway throughout the whole of the maritime basin. From the year 1200, it is true, this world and the Creto-Aegean civilization were heading for destruction and the Hellenic barbarians had already arrived. But the Hellenes of the first period were still acquainted with this splendid Eastern Mediterranean world, which survived all the invasions and violent upheavals of the new society in its earliest days, and this vast realm is, beyond a doubt, what "Phœnicia" meant to the barbarian conquerors.

The scope of the name, therefore, has changed in the course of centuries, and it remains to explain how it became limited and withdrew geographically to the south of the eastern horizon.

A phenomenon frequently met with and explicable by the growth of social and geographical knowledge is just the opposite one—the *extension* of a name toward the horizon, from near to far. This is admirably illustrated in Egyptian geography by the history of the names *Hor* and *Lotan*, which about the year 2000

denoted southern Palestine, Hor being the coast and Lotan the interior. These names, originally limited to the neighbourhood of Egypt, were extended from the south to the north of Syria until they covered it completely in the Greek period. But in the case of the name *Phœnicia* we have the opposite process—the specialization and limitation of a geographical term. This is a less explicable phenomenon, perhaps, but one which, in the sphere in question, is in remarkable accordance with another development which the history of Egyptian geography again presents to our view.

Under the New Empire, in fact, about the year 1500, the Egyptians had a special name, *Keftiu*, to denote Crete—the rich and luxurious Aegeo-Mycenæan Crete. In the Ptolemaic period the same name is found in the Canopus decree, but employed in the hieroglyphic version to translate the demotic *Hoir* and the Greek *Phœnicia*, meaning therefore the coast of central Syria. We are thus led to the conclusion that in the great Cretan period, about 1500 and earlier, *Keftiu* had been a general term used in Egypt to denote Syria, Crete, and the entire Eastern Mediterranean world at the time of its great civilization, only to be limited at a later stage to the coastline of its eastern extremity. This, it will be seen, is precisely the history of the name *Phœnicia* in European Greece, on the other side of the sea.

These developments are curiously similar: *Keftiu* to the Egyptians in 1500 and *Phœnicia* to the primitive Hellenes meant the entire Creto-Aegeo-Asianic world, after which the two names were restricted in their application, but the divergent points of view of Greek and Egyptian geographers met again a few centuries before the Christian era and were concealed anew in

the designation of the classical Phœnicia. Had there not been this agreement, the reasons determining such a development are difficult to explain precisely, but the kind of identity between the two words, as shown by history, is particularly strange.

In the latter part of the second millennium, none the less, and, as we shall see, at Ras-Shamra about the year 1300, the greater Phœnicia, limited later to the south, would seem to have been still existent and active in Northern Syria. We shall return later to the history of Ras-Shamra.

We will now glance at this Phœnicia, in the broad sense, covering the entire north-south coast of the great gulf.

The country has no great breadth, but is confined to a narrow strip parallel to the sea. This is due to its geological configuration within a folded system of ridges and valleys running north and south, dependent on the great orographical units of the Tertiary period—Alps, Himalayas, etc. A great central fold, parallel to the sea, is formed by the opposing valleys of the *Leontes*, flowing south, and the *Orontes*, flowing north, both piercing their western wall at right angles in order to reach the sea, the *Leontes* near Tyre and the *Orontes* further north, beyond Latakiah.

The gaps cut by the *Leontes* and the *Orontes* in the ridge that separates them from the Mediterranean are an example of the commonest way whereby in a region of parallel folds the waters of one basin are caused by fluvial erosion to flow into the adjoining one at a lower level. It is not, as might at first be thought, that the water strikes violently against a solid wall, in the

manner of a ram. The basin simply fills up until it forms a great lake, and the water then pours over into the next basin through some opening in the surrounding ridge. After this the flow of water through this outlet eats away the mountain and the waterfall gradually becomes an actual part of the river at the bottom of a mountain gorge. (Innumerable examples are to be found in the configuration of the streams in the Alps, the Jura, and the whole of the Alpine-Himalayan system.)

Parallel to the Leontes and a little way to the east, in the very bottom of the great furrow, the *Jordan* takes its rise, and when the Leontes makes its great bend it continues southward toward the Dead Sea. Beyond this the furrow still goes on much further, by the Wadi Arabah and the Gulf of Akabah. This latter prolongation is eventually absorbed, as the map shows, in a much wider, longer, and deeper hollow that branches off in a different direction—the Red Sea itself.

And the whole of this system—the Red Sea “ditch” and the north-south “furrow” of Palestine-Syria—is still only a part of the complex of foldings and subsidences that formed the eastern edge of the Mediterranean and the great eastern flank of Africa.

The edges of the inland trench at the level of the Phœnician area are two mountain ranges, of which the western one is Lebanon and the eastern is called Hermon in the south, but continues northward as Anti-Lebanon. The slope between Lebanon and the sea is some thirty miles in breadth, and it is this narrow strip that in the classical period was called *Phœnicia*, the great inland valley being the *Cœle-Syria*—“hollow Syria”—of the Greco-Romans. Both lands, however, should be regarded as subdivisions of the larger area

called *Syria*, which includes also a third region, *Upper Syria*, to the north of the other two, extending from the Mediterranean (between Ruad and Alexandretta) as far as the great bend of the Euphrates, and having Aleppo at its centre.

Between the Euphrates and Upper Syria there is no desert: this is the zone of communication and travel, the great highway from the Euphrates to the Mediterranean, *i.e.* between Mesopotamia and the West. Further south begins the great desert that divides Syria from the lower Euphrates and pushes its head northward toward Aleppo. In the middle latitude of Phœnicia proper, exactly on a level with Sidon, is the great oasis of Damascus which communicates with the west by way of the gap between Anti-Lebanon and Hermon. The country around this great city is a magnificent garden, an *oasis* in the sense that behind it, to the east, where the waters run dry, we enter at once the desert area, the vast Arabian desert that continues throughout the whole extent of central Arabia.

Aleppo and Damascus, the two great cities of the hinterland, of immemorial age yet still ever living, have been dominated since their earliest beginnings by their topographical functions, Damascus as the doorway from central Syria to the great eastern desert, and Aleppo as the principal meeting-place of all the roads from Mesopotamia to Asia Minor and the west, and from Syria to the Caucasus and the north-east as well as to Mesopotamia by way of the Euphrates. On the Mediterranean coast the ports of the Syro-Phœnician sector have already been mentioned and are set down in the map. From this part of the coast penetration into the interior is difficult, as the shore is parallel to the mountain ranges, and can be accomplished only by

way of a small number of natural gaps. It is a curious fact that communications between the coast and the great Orontes-Leontes-Jordan furrow make no use of either the Orontes gap or that of the Leontes, which are steep gorges, hollowed out in such a way that they are impracticable for general travel. The cuttings through which the roads pass are two in number and of great antiquity. The northern gap, at the northern end of Lebanon, starts at Simyra on the coast, not far from Aradus, and passes through the valley of the little Eleutheros. The point where it debouches on the upper Orontes has always been guarded by strongholds: Kadesh, the capital of the State in the second millennium, and Qatna near by. The southern gap is a prolongation in a straight line of the deep bay that is sheltered by Mount Carmel, closed on the side of the sea by the famous stronghold of Megiddo in the plain of Jezreel (Esdraelon), and at its Jordan end by the equally well-known fortress of Beisan (the Beth-shean or Beth-shan of the Bible).

This southern Carmel-Jordan gap may be regarded as the boundary of Phœnicia proper, and also of the Cœle-Syria of Greek geography. The coast south of Tyre as far as the neighbourhood of Egypt was called *Philistia* in classical times, and the interior was *Palestine*, strictly speaking the kingdom of Israel in the Israelite period, with the kingdom of Judah further south. This classical toponymy is strange at first sight, for Philistia and Palestine are quite obviously one and the same name. But it is easily understandable that this must have been another instance of those phenomena of generalization or specialization of geographical terms that we have just been considering in connexion with the history of the name *Phœnicia*. In the present



case, indeed, it is the Greeks, the people of the maritime west, who are speaking: *Philistia* to them meant at first this coastal region which faced them, and then, at a given moment, the name came to be extended to the continental region behind it, withdrawing, as it were, toward a horizon that became better and better known. The name Philistia-Palestine in its complete sense denotes a somewhat extensive country, bounded on the west by the sea, astride over the mountain and the Dead Sea depression, and reaching in the south a wide zone of semi-desert steppe that surrounds the Wadi Arabah. This great Egypto-Palestinian steppe, a very important region from the point of view of the history of Israelite origins, is an area of nomadism separated from the Egyptian isthmus frontier by a complete desert, stretching for some sixty miles.

The best-known ports are the five cities of the Philistine Pentapolis, with Jaffa in the centre. Of the inland towns, Jerusalem stands on the crest of the ridge at a height of some 2,600 feet, overhanging at close quarters the Dead Sea abyss. Further south is Hebron, where southern Palestine is already in contact with the steppe. Northern Palestine, the ancient kingdom of Israel, has its centre marked by Samaria, the ancient Shechem.

## CHAPTER II

### SYRO-PALESTINE IN THE THIRD MILLENNIUM

FOR the earliest period of historical documentation, *i.e.* before the middle of the third millennium, as well as later, especially in the second millennium, our knowledge of this country is obtained from Egyptian and Mesopotamian sources—*Babylonian* in the broad sense, to be taken only as the general name of the Tigris-Euphrates region at a time when Babylon was not yet in existence. Egypt teaches us in particular about the southern area, and the Asiatic sources, in communication with the country by the Euphrates route, give us information about the north and centre. In the third and second millenniums Upper or Northern Syria was called in Babylonian geography *Amurru*, or *Amor*, meaning "western region," for it was in fact "western" to the dwellers on the banks of the Euphrates. The whole of the area to the south of this *Amurru* was called, in the second millennium, *Kana'an*. The latter name included the coast and the interior, *i.e.* the Phœnicia and Cœle-Syria of classical times—an enormous area which must have extended, from the point of view of observers in the north-east, up to the boundaries of the region visible to the south, including Palestine. This latter region is well included under the general name because, when the Israelites left the southern steppe and set out to enter Palestine, their tradition gives the name *Kana'an* to the land they were to conquer, *Kana'an* in the Israelitish sense being limited, of course, to the southern edge of the great area denoted by the

Babylonian use of the term, for the Israelitish account in the Bible, set down about the year 800 and worked out in substance some centuries earlier, and the toponymy found there, are those of the Israelitish tradition of the second millennium: the term *Kana'an*, among a very large number of others, is simply borrowed from the vocabulary of Babylonian usage, on which Biblical knowledge depends in regard to so many points. About the same time, during and at the end of the second millennium, the Egypt of the New Empire also knew the name *Kana'an* for the same great region, but much less commonly: the original Egyptian names are quite different.

The Egyptians at the beginning of the Pharaonic period—say at the time of the Ist dynasty, about the year 3000—had a foothold in Asia already: they had settlements and made expeditions into the Sinaitic peninsula and the land of Palestine proper. During the Old Empire, about 2600 or 2500, they are found installed at Byblus, then the coastal stronghold of central Phœnicia, and the Pharaohs made war also in the interior, no doubt in Palestine. They called the people of Asia *Amu*, a name which was to remain in general use to denote the Asiatics. Of capital importance is the fact that all their documents from Byblus and Egypt, to which we shall return later, make it clear to us that the population in the third millennium, at least in the coastal area, was purely and completely *Semitic*, *i.e.* that Phœnicia-Kana'an, when our knowledge begins, was already Semitic, as it was to remain uninterruptedly during its long history.

*Amu*, however, is only a general name for the human element, the people beyond the Isthmus. Real geographical names appeared later: *Horu* in the Middle

Empire, about 1900 and thereafter, but especially in the New Empire, from 1600 onward, and alongside it *Lotanu*, which two names existed side by side thenceforward. With regard to their application, we can make out that *Horu* was mainly the coast region, while *Lotanu* denotes particularly the interior. The meanings, thus defined, extended and progressed northward, parallel to each other, in the spirit of Egyptian geography, at the same time as Egyptian knowledge of Asia went on extending and moving toward a horizon farther and farther north. It may be said that in Egyptian toponymy about the end of the period of the Ramessides, 1100 and after, *Horu* was roughly Phœnicia and *Lotanu* the "hollow Syria" of classical geography. But from that period the two meanings tended to coalesce, while *Lotanu* also receded before *Horu*, so that after a few more centuries the latter became a general term, employed alone to denote the whole of Syria.

None the less it is very interesting to consider the two names in the early stages, at the time when they were used together in a sense still differentiated or only on the way to becoming synonymous, for they correspond to references met with elsewhere which give us a remarkable insight into the things they originally denoted.

The two names, in fact, occupy an important place in very early Biblical tradition, in the ethnological genealogies of the book of Genesis, in the list of peoples set down as having preceded Edom on the plateau of *Se'ir*, the great steppe to the south of Palestine, bounded on the east by the Wadi Arabah. But it is necessary here to glance at the conditions of primitive Hebraic history. We say *Hebraic* and not *Israelite*. When the Israelites left the southern desert to enter

Palestine they were only a small clan, a very restricted portion of a much larger collection of peoples who carried out this immigration or conquest: they took part in a general movement. This happened in about the fourteenth century. This great assemblage of Semitic peoples coming up from the south-east were called, in the Biblical tradition that retained very clearly the memory of their arrival, *Aramæans*, and, preferably, *Hebrews*. Among them were *Ammon*, *Moab*, who were to establish themselves to the east of the Dead Sea, *Edom* on the southern confines of Judea, *Israel*, who followed the others and lagged behind, and lastly some other groups such as *Amalek*, who were never to succeed in emerging from the nomadic or semi-bedouin state. Edom had arrived very early. And in a note of very great value that has been preserved by chance (Genesis xxxvi. 20-30) the Bible describes the people who occupied Se'ir before the arrival of Edom, in the form, naturally, of a genealogy, connected with the ancestor Se'ir himself. He had seven sons, of whom *Lotan* was the eldest, and *Hori* was the son of Lotan. Here, then, we have the two names of peoples which had passed into Egyptian geography. But at the same date as the Biblical sources of information *Hori* held a clearly predominant position among his relations, so that the Bible describes his family as *Horites*, *sons of Seir*. Such was the population of southern Palestine in pre-Hebraic times, say about 1600 or 1500, according to the evidence of the Bible itself. It is understandable, then, that in earlier centuries these peoples and names were those which the Egyptians met and recorded at first, and the only ones they still knew during the Middle Empire, in the first centuries of the second millennium.

Then comes the important ethnical problem of placing these peoples of Se'ir at the beginning of the second millennium: were they Semites or non-Semites? All the light we have on the subject is the list of their names in the Bible, and also a certain number of place-names in Egyptian documents of the Middle Empire. The question, which has been debated at great length, is perhaps not yet solved. There has recently been a tendency to regard the Horites as pure Semites. But we must ask ourselves to-day whether there is not some ground for reverting to the earlier view—*viz.* that these people were non-Semitic and akin to the earlier human element that occupied Mediterranean Asia, independently of the Semites, before the arrival of the Indo-Europeans—when we consider that this *Hor* appears to be the same word and the same thing as the early *Hurri* of Asia Minor and the Euphrates, who represented, in the places where they are found, the pre-Indo-European or "Asianic" element in Hither Asia. But as regards the Palestinian *Hori* of the Bible the position remains obscure.<sup>1</sup>

In spite of this uncertainty there is no great imprudence in setting forth in general terms the following important ethnical position in the southern region at the beginning of the second millennium and undoubtedly earlier: the human element in this area was Semitic, at least as far as the majority is concerned, as it is seen to be in Phoenicia and in the interior in the direction of Egypt according to the information provided by Egyptian sources in the third millennium. We have, in short, various pieces of information, geographically somewhat scattered, which show us a condition of

<sup>1</sup> For the great primitive *Hurri* of Hither Asia (Asia Minor and the Euphrates region) and the probable relation of the Palestinian *Hori* to this family, see Chapter VII. P. 71

Semitic homogeneity in the third millennium in the whole of Phœnicia-Palestine as far as the extreme south. This homogeneity, however, is far more marked in the opposite direction, to the north, where it extends much further, covering Upper Syria. Here the *Amurru*, who, as we learn from Mesopotamian sources, were purely and completely Semitic, were an important people and a great country which we find conquered by the first pre-Babylonian emperors, first Lugalzaggisi of Uruk, and after him those of the dynasty of Akkad, round about the year 2400. To sum up in a general way, it may be said that in the third millennium the great domain of Syro-Palestine was Semitic, especially from the uplands down to the maritime region and in the whole of northern Amurru, and that the Semites were the primitive inhabitants of the area thus defined.

Are we to go further in this direction and adopt the conception of an actual primitive kinship between the peoples of this great unit—an ethnical or strictly racial kinship? That is always a very uncertain point, whether we are considering human groupings in the third millennium or in our own day. All that we can observe and call by the name of race is community of culture, of speech, and of all kinds of acquisitions unified by contact and exchange. We shall see further on that the vast Indo-European world that emerged from the shadows in the second millennium had in reality no other characteristics than this community of speech, acquired in the course of thousands of years of previous preparation in the immense northern Euro-Asiatic plain where there were no obstacles to intercommunication. So, too, among the Semites of the primitive Syro-Palestinian region that we have just been considering, there was community or close affinity of

speech, and that is the very definition of Semitism; we shall be led to the same observation later on in a wider sphere, when we consider the Semitic world in the whole of its enormous extent. Here, however, where we are confining our attention to the peoples of the Syro-Palestinian region, we find among them not only community of speech but also a kinship in culture, religion, and tradition which bears witness to a real intellectual admixture and important social contacts in the earliest period.

It has long been observed, in this connexion, that between Phœnicians and Israelites there were very close contacts in mythology and cosmogony, not to speak of religion in general. The Israelitish conception of the origin of the world and of creation is set down in the first pages of Genesis, while as regards the Phœnicians, the writer Philo of Byblus, who lived in the time of Hadrian, has preserved for us an extract from an old work of uncertain date, attributed to one Sanchuniathon who is not otherwise known. This Sanchuniathon had recorded some stories in connexion with the religion and legends of the Phœnicians that are of great interest from the point of view of cultural contacts with other peoples. Notable among them is the legend of Samem-rum, the hero of the foundation of Tyre (where he invented the building of reed huts) who fought against his brother Usoos, a hunter clad in skins. This is quite obviously an image of the immemorial rivalry that takes place everywhere on the borders of cultivated land where it adjoins the steppe, between the sedentary cultivators dwelling in villages and the nomadic hunters and shepherds. Now the same image has passed into Israelite legend in the story of the sedentary Jacob in conflict with his brother Esau, the wild hunter.



Adapting the story to actual facts at the time of the quarrels between the Israelites newly settled in Palestine and their neighbours of the desert, we can allow Jacob to represent the Israelites themselves and Esau to be Edom. But the primitive and general meaning shows through none the less, and we see then—a very remarkable thing—that in the Phœnician and Israelite versions the nomad is represented by the same figure, a formidable man, hairy or skin-clad, and bearing the same name (*Usoos*=*Esau*). This cannot be mere chance, and there must therefore have been a common documentary source at a date earlier than the Israelite preparations in the course of the second millennium.

In a manner that is at first sight even more remarkable—for geographically the distance involved is much greater—it has recently been shown that the people of Upper Syria preserved evidence in their religious literature of certain relations with the south, and of a remarkable knowledge of the religions and shrines of the southern Judean steppe, which played an equally important part in the traditions of the peoples of the Hebraic family, known to us from the traditions of Israel. The new discovery is based on that of inscribed tablets at Ras-Shamra, a coastal region in the neighbourhood of Latakiah, *i.e.* well within Upper Syria and outside Phœnicia proper. These inscriptions belong most probably to the thirteenth century, and we shall deal with them more fully later on, for they are of capital importance in connexion with the history of writing and the origin of the alphabet. It is only their subject-matter that concerns us here. It may be said at once that the revelations to be found in them of common traditions became much less surprising when it was seen that the religious collections

of Ras-Shamra were simply transcripts of original documents from southern Phœnicia. This general consideration being clearly borne in mind, we can grapple with this Ras-Shamra library and some of its long religious poems, in which many passages are to be noted from the point of view of the resemblances with which we are concerned.

Here, to begin with, is a kind of recital, connected with rites of fertility and fecundation, where we find mention of a hero called *Sib'ani*. His birth is announced as follows: "Give birth, then, to Sib'ani, O wife of Etrah. He shall build Ashdod and set up the *ad* [raised stone] in the midst of the desert of Kadesh." Now Ashdod is well known as one of the maritime strongholds of Philistia. Kadesh and its "desert" are likewise known: it is an oasis in the steppe to the south of Palestine, a "sanctuary" (the literal meaning of the name) celebrated in the legend of Israel's national origins, according to which it was the site of the famous sojourn in the wilderness before the conquest of Palestine and the acquisition of a national god who in the Israelite mind would have been that of Kadesh itself. It has been clear for a long time that this religious site, Kadesh, on the edge of the southern Palestinian desert, was in pre-Israelite times a meeting-place for all the tribes, nomad and sedentary, of the neighbourhood. It was realized, too, that since the Israelite tradition in historical times claimed that the god of Israel was the god of Kadesh itself, revealed by the people and led out by them, a great many other peoples, more or less related, would very probably have each told us the same thing about their respective gods if their recollections had come down to us. Now that, it will be seen, is precisely what has happened, not only

in Palestine but in Phœnicia, where we find a hero of national legend *setting up the ad* of Kadesh, just like the Israelite of the Biblical legend, *i.e.* establishing the sanctuary after discovering and conquering the god. And who is this founder? One *Sib'ani*, son of *Etrah* who is quite obviously identical with the Biblical *Terah*, the father of Abraham who in Israelite tradition was the great founder of the national sanctuaries before the other patriarchs appeared to carry out the same function.

The original of this Ras-Shamra story, let us repeat, is a document at least earlier than the thirteenth century proceeding from Tyro-Sidonian Phœnicia. If the whole collection came from there, as appears to be the case, it is entirely natural to find another poem included in it, with *Terah* again playing a leading part and with the theatre of events still situated in the south, this time in Phœnicia proper.

The story is that of a king of Sidon named *Keret*, who is engaged in a struggle with invaders whose leader is called *Terah*. The "plot" is complicated and somewhat difficult to understand. *Keret*, beloved of the god *El*, takes to the road with his people, not necessarily to fight the *Terahites*, who have notably in their ranks a people from *Zabulon* and another from *Yetsp*, whose name is a different grammatical form of the verb that gives us also *Iosep*, while elsewhere in the story there is a people from *Aser*. So besides *Terah*, father of the patriarchs, there appear in this poem, either with him or against him, three peoples who in Israelite history are parts or tribes of Israel. To this must be added also that in the recital the people of *Edom* are warm friends of *Keret* and his god *El*. All this takes place in southern Judea. The names of the Israelite tribes are certainly

used in their *geographical* sense, as names of countries to be taken later by the Israelite tribes which settled in them. It is not impossible, be it noted, that in this Phœnician legend we have an echo of the historical invasion of the Hebrews in southern Kana'an, which was not of very ancient date at the time of the Ras-Shamra texts, and still less so at the time of their Sidonian originals. But what needs to be particularly noticed in the *Keret* poem, as well as in the other one in which appears Sib'ani, son of Etrah, is the coincidence of facts and names with the Israelite tradition—the very same phenomenon, it will be seen, as the identity of Usoos and Esau, the wild and redoubtable Bedouin, in the Phœnician and Israelite legends. Such instances of identity, intersection, and superposition of traditions brings out very vividly the intimate nearness and long and continual association in which dwelt all the Semitic peoples of the Syro-Palestinian area in their earliest historical period.

## CHAPTER III

### SEMITES AND OTHER RACES IN HITHER ASIA IN THE THIRD MILLENNIUM

SUCH, then, was the appearance of the Syro-Palestinian world in the earliest days, say down to the third or the second millennium. Only for the third millennium, however, is the picture entirely accurate. For the succeeding one it lacks reference to certain new arrivals, the Indo-Europeans, who began to come from about the year 2000. But the arrival of the Indo-Europeans was a phenomenon of enormous extent, covering the greater part of the area of Hither Asia and Mediterranean Europe. If, therefore, we are to study it in Syro-Palestine we must first have a general knowledge of previous human occupation in the great region of Asia where Semites and non-Semites dwelt side by side before 2000, mingled together in conditions that must be known if we are to understand their historical organization and development. The study of these conditions is of capital importance also for a knowledge of the Semites, so that we may have a general idea of the peoples of this group whom hitherto we have met and considered only in one particular region, *viz.* the small Mediterranean area.

A kind of geographical axis is formed in the central part of Hither Asia by the basin of the Tigris and the Euphrates. This land of *Mesopotamia* is also the most important region to the historian, in its origins, because historical knowledge begins there at the earliest date. The general events of history are seen clearly in

Mesopotamia from the year 3000, about the very time when real history appears in like manner in Egypt. We can take it that in the first half of the third millennium, 3000–2500, this Mesopotamian basin was divided, in the matter of human occupation, into a northern half, inhabited mainly by Semites, and a southern half belonging principally to non-Semites, very different from the former. But at this period the interpenetration of the two populations had already begun. The non-Semites of the southern half, as far as the Persian Gulf, were those whom we call *Sumerians*. We shall see the origin and meaning of the name when we have dealt first with the Semites and the Semitic realm.

The Semites were an extensive group of peoples, closely related to one another, partly from their natural environment, which was mainly and at least originally the semi-desert or steppe, the controller and regulator of the pastoral, nomadic, or semi-sedentary life, and partly from their resulting tribal organization, their manners and customs, religion and culture, and particularly their language, whose varieties were very closely akin to each other throughout the whole Semitic world.

The primitive area of occupation was the great steppe to the south of the group of mountains of Asia Minor and Armenia, together with the Arabian desert and the cultivated region which bordered it as far as Syria, as well as the upper basin of the Tigris and Euphrates. To the east, north, and north-west, particularly in Asia Minor and Armenia, the mountains were not originally occupied by the Semites, but by one or several other races, perhaps differing among themselves, which we may continue to designate, as is often done, by the collective name *Asianics*. To these races belong the vestiges of some of the primitive languages of the

great massif which still remain in these mountains, especially in the Caucasus region.

At the time when history begins the Semites were already no longer all nomads. There were steppe and desert Semites at the bedouin stage, or more or less in process of becoming settled, and there were the sedentary ones of the cultivated areas. The realm of these latter was very extensive and included, as we have seen already, the whole of Syro-Palestine, from one end of the coast to the other as far as the Egyptian frontier, with Phœnicia in the middle and the land of the Amorites in the north. Whence did these peoples come? If it is true, as it is most commonly supposed, that they had come up from the desert in the east, their arrival is utterly lost in prehistoric darkness.

We have some knowledge, however, through prehistoric archæology, of the predecessors of the historical Phœnicians, a cave-dwelling race who set up places of worship. Their date cannot be precisely determined, any more than that of the arrival of the Semites on that coast, which was undoubtedly considerably earlier than the third millennium. We know definitely to-day from Egyptian sources that great Semitic movements from the east took place at a date long before 3000. There was in particular the immigration by way of the Red Sea or the Isthmus which covered Egypt long before the beginning of the Pharaonic period (3000 B.C.). This immigration may be dated perhaps around the year 5000, or at all events between 5000 and 4000. And it may be considered—the only supposition open to us—that the Semitic arrival in Syria, Phœnicia, and Palestine may have been connected and contemporary with the great Semitic arrival in Egypt in the fifth millennium.

It always happens, in view of the continual effort of nomads to enter and settle in cultivable lands, that as far back as history goes there is rivalry and hostility between the established sedentaries and the nomads desirous of displacing them or settling amongst them, and it is essential to note that this rivalry is by no means necessarily between Semites and surrounding non-Semitic peoples, but between nomads and sedentaries, whatever their racial affinities. In the third millennium there were also movements of peoples and attempted conquests of a much wider kind than the war between sedentaries and nomads on the borders of the cultivated land, and these brought into play the resources of great and organized civilizations. All round the great circle that surrounded the upper Tigro-Euphrates basin, for instance, the mountains outside were relatively poor while the river plain was rich, and the result was that the mountain folk outside cast covetous eyes on the plain, with its fields and cities, and from time to time descended upon it, while the communities and kingdoms of the plain, on the other hand, sought to penetrate the mountains through need for expansion and exploitation. In this way the Amorites of Syria in the north were brought into subjection by a king of Mesopotamia in the south, Lugalzaggisi, living about the year 2500, who succeeded in extending his imperial organization as far as the Mediterranean, while Sargon of Agade, founding his great empire, annexed the Amorites in the same way immediately after. It is on these occasions, as we have already seen, that we meet with the Amorites for the first time, in the annals of Lugalzaggisi and Sargon. A few centuries later the Amorites had their revenge, and then it was the mountaineers who came down into the plain. In



2100 came the Amorite conquest of central Babylonia (we can speak of *Babylonia* here, for the city of Babylon was now in existence), resulting in the foundation of the empire of the *First Babylonian Dynasty*. In the same way three centuries later, about 1800, a Hittite expedition from Asia Minor (we shall see later who the Hittites were) invaded Babylonia and put an end to this dynasty just referred to.

The two Mesopotamian conquerors of the twenty-fifth century, the two founders of empire just mentioned, do not represent a series of continuous efforts, and if the stronger organization of Sargon perhaps benefited from the experience gained in earlier attempts, this was certainly not the result desired by his predecessor. For the two enterprises were directed by powers of different origin: Lugalzaggisi, king of Uruk, was a Sumerian, while Sargon, king of Akkad or Agade, was a Semite. Who, then, exactly were the Sumerians, and how did it come about that Sumerian and Semitic peoples and kingships dwelt side by side in central and southern Mesopotamia before the middle of the third millennium?

The native name of this country, where Babylon did not exist until about the year 2300, was the *Shinar* of the Bible, *Shanhar* in the cuneiform documents of the fourteenth century (Amarna), and *Sangar* in hieroglyphic Egyptian of the same period. During the second millennium two races, and no doubt two languages also, met and interpenetrated at all points. Predominant in number on the north were the Semites, calling themselves *Akkadu*, "the people of Akkad," undoubtedly after the very ancient city of Akkad, the cradle of the first Semitic empire a thousand years earlier. In the south was a non-Semitic element,

speaking or once having spoken a language entirely different from the Semitic. These we call *Sumerians*, the people of *Sumer*, in contrast to the Akkadians of Semitic race and tongue, and because in the vocabulary of the Babylonian empire established in the second millennium the whole country was officially called *Sumer and Akkad*, a name which describes the mixture and the unification of the two lands and of the two originally distinct elements. But there is yet another justification for thus using the term *Sumer* as the opposite of the term used to denote Semitic things. At a much later date, between 1000 and 500 B.C., in the Assyrian period, the non-Semitic language finally died. It had become a learned language, and in order to understand old texts written in this tongue it was necessary to use dictionaries or syllabaries showing the relation between the values of the cuneiform signs in Semitic Akkadian, the living and vulgar tongue, and those of the same signs in the other language that was dead. And in one of these lists of correspondences of the Assyrian period we find the older, learned, non-Semitic language explicitly described as *Sumerian*.

The position in the middle of the Babylonian period, *i.e.* in the centuries around 1500, was that of a fusion of races and civilizations, with the Sumerian tongue progressively disappearing before the Semitic Akkadian. At the beginning things had been quite different. In the year 3000 and for some time after the Sumerians alone were present in the middle and lower part of the valley, where they had an advanced civilization, great cities, a splendid art, and the cuneiform writing which they had invented. Then about 2700 or earlier the Semites appeared as conquerors, coming down from the great steppe round the head waters of the rivers,

and as creators, to begin with, of the important State of *Mari* on the Euphrates, with which we are becoming acquainted. Further on they took possession of northern Shinar, where was situated the town of Akkad which they founded and whose name they were always to bear. No doubt these invaders had long been civilized already, and once established they adopted the Sumerian civilization and to a great extent the gods and religion of the old country, which they mixed with their own. It is very remarkable that they adopted also the cuneiform writing, making it serve to write the Semitic tongue by a mechanism that we shall not explain here, but whose essential feature is that the phonetic signs or syllabics passed from the old language into the new with the same *sounds*, while at the same time the ideograms passed from one language to the other with the same *meaning*, corresponding to different readings. During the long centuries that followed the two cultures gradually coalesced, to the advantage of the Semitic as the Sumerian ways and language gave way to their rivals, though they were naturally better defended in the south. In northern Shinar, *i.e.* central Mesopotamia, until about 2300 Sumerian and Semitic cities and kingships were, so to speak, mixed up together, and at some periods and from both sides there were attempts at conquest and empire, some of which we have already mentioned. After 2350 we are concerned with *Sumer and Akkad*, under different dynasties and with different capitals, until the decisive moment of the Amorite conquest in 2100 which founded the Babylonian empire.

Around the Mesopotamian basin within the great circle of mountains in the north-east, the north, and the east, we have for some years been fairly well

informed as to the general ethnical conditions in the earliest period, say the third millennium and earlier. The whole of this great mountain horizon on the north-east was, for the Assyro-Babylonians of the classical period, a single area called *Subartu*. This name in their geography actually means "North," and the population of the country, so far as we can tell, was originally also a great homogeneous body formed of the *Hurri*, whose presence from time immemorial in Asia Minor, in further Euphratean Mitanni, and perhaps also in Syro-Palestine, has already been mentioned. These primitive "Asianics," *Subarians*, or more properly *Hurrites*, probably occupied Mesopotamia itself at the beginning, for it is generally admitted to-day that the Sumerians did not enter the country till the second stage, undoubtedly very early, but at a date judged by historians from more or less variable archæological correspondences to be more or less far back in the fourth millennium.

It should be noted here, by the way, that in the vocabulary of the classical Babylonian geography just referred to the South is *Shinar* itself; the West is *Amurru* (which means "West"), the land we already know on the Mediterranean; and the North is the great Anatolio-Armenian *Subartu*, in contact at its eastern extremity with the real East, which is Elam. We are thus introduced to this latter country, well known to us nowadays from its beginning, a vast region of tablelands east of the Tigris, which thousands of years later was to become *Persia*. At the beginning it was the seat of a developed civilization at least as old as the oldest pre-Sumerian communities in the valley.

Some centuries before the year 2000, among the kings of the Akkad dynasty, we begin to hear mention of the *Assyrians* on the upper Tigris, whose descendants

were to be famous a thousand years later. It is known that these Assyrians were characteristic Semites, but it is realized nowadays that the people bearing that name arose from the superposition, at an unknown early date, of a Semitic population on a primitive one, the same *Hurri* we have just mentioned—the primordial “Asianics” of the whole of Hither Asia.

At the beginning of the second millennium, however, there were to appear the *Kashshu* (*Kassites*, or *Kossians* according to the Greek name) who came down from the north, conquered the valley, and founded the important IIIrd Babylonian dynasty about the year 1750. It is not surprising that we do not meet with these people in the third millennium, if it is true, as all the evidence tends to indicate, that these Kassites were Indo-Europeans, for the great Indo-European flood did not break from the north till about 2000. The Indo-European invasion is more plainly and much better seen in the great massif north-west of the circle, where it covered Asia Minor and Armenia, giving rise by admixture with the primitive Asianic population to those peoples, chief of whom were the *Hittites*, who were to play such a prominent part in the history of the second millennium. Other invading waves covered at the same time the middle Euphrates and central Syria on the west, whence flowing southward they reached Palestine, where we find about the year 1500 a mixture of ancient Hurrite, Semitic, and Indo-European. The Indo-Europeans will call for attention, too, when we relate the history of Syro-Palestine in the second millennium and shall have to concern ourselves with the *Hittites*.

## CHAPTER IV

### CHRONOLOGY OF HITHER ASIA

IN the framework of this ethnographical and linguistic sketch of Hither Asia in the third millennium, and before coming to the actual historical facts in regard to the coastal area, it will be as well to confirm the chronology and justify the dates we have given for the early relations between the Mediterranean and the States of Mesopotamia, such as the dates of Lugal-zaggisi of Uruk and Sargon of Akkad, and that of the conquest of Babylon by the Amorites. These dates are taken from the general outline of the chronology of the Babylonian world, based on Babylonian documents, and it will be interesting to look back at these sources.

It is essential at the outset to give up all attempt to make use of the chroniclers and compilers of ancient literature. First and foremost among these is *Herodotus* (c. 500 B.C.), who is of little value for the accurate history of ancient times. So too are his adversary *Ctesias* who a century later (400 B.C.) wrote a connected history of the East, and *Berosus*, a Chaldean priest who wrote the *Βαβυλωνιακά* in 280. This work is known through extracts made from it, in varying degrees of remoteness from the original, by such writers as Alexander Polyhistor (c. 70 B.C.), from whom borrowings were made by Flavius Josephus (first century A.D.) and Eusebius (third century A.D.), whose chronological fragments were collected by Syncellus (tenth century A.D.). Berosus has in particular a *chronological table of dynasties* which it is entirely impossible to co-ordinate in any

way whatever with historical documents, and which we are therefore compelled to ignore.

Precise documents, on the other hand, enable us to fix the chronology, naturally in a backward direction. For the latest period we have the invaluable table of *Ptolemy the Geographer* (second century A.D.) known as *Ptolemy's Canon*. This is a detailed list of kings intended to assist the reading of tables of astronomical observations of ancient Babylon-Mesopotamian observations from the times of *Nabonassar* (740 B.C.), calculated by Babylonian astronomers and then converted by those of Alexandria. Ptolemy's document was a comparative table intended to facilitate the reading and understanding of the Alexandrian table. But the astronomical aspect of this compilation is to us of secondary interest only: the essential point is that we find here a chronological table, precise and detailed, of historical events from the well-dated years of the Greek period to as far back as the middle of the eighth century, which, it will be seen, definitely connects the period of the Second Babylonian Empire and the Assyrian Empire to modern times, with a detailed chronology of the intermediate period.

Next, to go back earlier than the time of Nabonassar of Babylon, we find splendid annalistic documents among the Assyrians. Apart from the particular annals of each of the great emperors, *viz.* Ashur-nasir-pal (c. 880), Shalmaneser III (c. 850), Tiglath-pileser (c. 740), and Ashur-bani-pal (c. 650), which are very valuable and precise but not related to each other, we have, owing to the eponym-lists kept in the official archives, a very complete and precise annalistic table from the middle of the seventh century to the beginning of the ninth, going backwards. This table and Ptolemy's

list, therefore, overlap for about a century, so that we have an exact chronology as far back as that point at the beginning of the ninth century.

Farther back than this the study of chronology has at its disposal, at any rate for the order and verification of events, a valuable document called the *Synchronous History*, a kind of continuous narrative of the Assyro-Babylonian frontier disputes from the fifteenth to the ninth century, confirmed at many points, moreover, by documents establishing synchronisms between Assyria and Babylon. This set of documents as a whole, therefore, goes back to the fifteenth century, which is, for Shinar, the very middle of the First Babylonian Empire. But the *Synchronous History* by itself would not determine the chronology or take the place of a chronological table precisely constructed and presented. Very fortunately we have such a table, preserved in classical Babylonian tradition for the whole extent of the First Babylonian Empire, a long period whose later limit and central portion are perfectly related to Assyrian chronology from the fifteenth century to the eighth-seventh centuries, and which goes back from there to the starting-point, before the beginning of the second millennium.

Among Babylonian documents there is a *List of Ten Dynasties*, with a complete enumeration of the kings, the duration of their reigns, and the totals for each dynasty, from the Amorite conquest which caused the foundation of the Ist dynasty down to the domination of Ashur-bani-pal of Ashur, who vanquished the last king of Babylon. The tablet bearing this document is unfortunately mutilated and a second partial specimen does not complete the text, so that this document alone, as we have it, would leave an



important uncertainty as to the position of the whole of the earlier portion if our knowledge were not assisted from elsewhere. Here is this *List of Ten Dynasties* as we have it:

The dates are given in our absolute chronology: see below for the method by which these are obtained.				
<i>Dynasty</i>			<i>Years</i>	
I	of Babylon	11 kings	304	2105-1801
II	of the Sea-country	11 „	368	... ? ...
III	Kassite	36 „	576	1749-1173
IV	of Pase (Isin)	11 „	132	1173-1041
V	of the Sea-country	3 „	21	1040-1020
VI	of Bazi	3 „	20	1020-1000
VII	an Elamite king	1 king	6	1000-993
VIII	(destroyed)	13 (?)	...	.....
IX	of Babylon	5 (?)	22	754-732
X	from Kinzir to Kandalanu (the last Babylonian king, dethroned by Ashur-bani-pal)	16 kings	105	731-626

The central connecting-link of the chronology is furnished by the position of the IIIrd (Kassite) dynasty, determined on the basis of all Assyro-Babylonian documents and with constant verification by the *Synchronous History*, whose list, as we have said, goes back to the fifteenth century and therefore includes the last three hundred years of this Kassite dynasty. A very remarkable fact will be noticed here also—that the order of events, both at Ashur and at Babylon, is not set down precisely until, going backwards, we approach this same point, 1500, so that for the earlier half of the Kassite dynasty the traditional list is a unique chronological document. Now this list has not

been completely preserved. There is a break in the tablet just before this 1500 point, where fifteen names and figures are missing, so that we should be deprived of all arithmetical means of proceeding further back if it were not for the *total* figure for the dynasty—576 years—which happens to have been preserved. This enables us, when the end of the dynasty is securely fixed at 1173, to place the beginning at 1749 with certainty (the gap in the tablet working out at the period 1650–1480). It will be seen that the thread of the arithmetical connexion is slender, but it is none the less strong. It should be noted also, in support, that after 1480, besides the Assyro-Babylonian *Synchronous History* we have in other directions excellent verificatory checks, *e.g.* the synchronisms of Burna-Buriash of Babylon and Ashur-uballit of Ashur, contemporary with each other according to the *Synchronous History* and contemporary also with Amenhotep IV of Egypt, with whom Burna-Buriash was in correspondence (Amarna). According to this Burna-Buriash is to be dated from 1376 to 1351.

But how about the period before the Kassites? Why not simply add the figures? There are clear indications in historical documents that the IIInd dynasty reigned only in the south and was partly simultaneous with the Ist and partly with the IIIrd, and we ought not, therefore, to reckon its duration as given in the list. But the point has been debated at great length and is not yet definitely settled.<sup>1</sup> First

<sup>1</sup> See R. Weill in *Revue critique*, 1931, p. 487. The point at issue may be summed up by saying that according to the historical data that are most probably significant the first king of the IIInd dynasty began to rule 140 years before the end of the Ist dynasty, and the later kings of the IIInd dynasty did not continue beyond the 50th year of the IIIrd (Kassite) dynasty. Assuming the figures in the list to be correct there would then remain 368 less 140 and less 50, say

the 368 years were entirely eliminated, then a partial duration of about 200 years only was re-established, next a return was made to complete elimination, and finally, in 1927, Thureau-Dangin decided to leave fifty-six years between the Ist and IIIrd dynasties.<sup>1</sup> This, it will be seen, gives the elements of considerable choice between a *short* chronology, a *long* one, and a whole series of *intermediate* ones. This uncertainty is important because the date of the beginning of the Ist dynasty has to determine the whole list of figures for earlier times, so that these will suffer from the same uncertainty.

We have chosen here the Thureau-Dangin solution as being in some respects and by general agreement the most probable: the accession of the Amorite dynasty being dated about 2105, Hammurabi, the most famous member of the dynasty, will be dated 2002-1960.<sup>2</sup>

178 years, as the actual duration of the IInd dynasty, *i.e.* the interval between the end of the Ist and the beginning of the IIIrd. The whole question is whether this interval was a real one, or a shorter one, or even non-existent.

<sup>1</sup> This latter solution, which means putting the beginning of the Ist dynasty at 2105, has been accepted recently by G. Contenau (Capart and Contenau, *Histoire de l'Orient ancien*, 1936) and Delaporte, *Le Proche-Orient asiatique* (in *Clio, Les peuples de l'Orient méditerranéen*), 1938. So also G. Dossin and A. Parrot; see *Syria*, XIX (1938), p. 183. About the same time, however, Sidersky (*Mélanges*, ed. Mahler, 1937, pp. 253-262) concluded in favour of the Langdon-Fotheringham chronology, putting the beginning of the dynasty at 2169, thus giving an interval of 120 years between the Ist and IIIrd dynasties.

<sup>2</sup> The choice is likely to determine also the precision of Hittite chronology for the early period. There is a Babylonian chronicle according to which *Samsu-ditana*, the last king of the Ist Babylonian dynasty, was defeated by the Hittite invaders, thus bringing about the downfall of the dynasty and preparing the way for the Kassite conquest. Now this invasion is confirmed by the great inscription of *Telibinus of Boghaz Keui*, which says that his fourth ancestor Murshilish had conquered and pillaged Babel. If we put the end of the Ist dynasty in Babylonian chronology at 1805, that fixes Murshilish at about that date, and Telibinus, therefore, on this reckoning, at about 1700, making a chronological connecting link for his successors during two centuries.

Before this date, 2105, is the period of a kingdom of *Sumer and Akkad*, founded, as we shall see, three centuries earlier, its name denoting the unification of the two great peoples of Shinar in the third millennium. There is no doubt that the kings of this early period claimed to have united the country politically: it was a prelude to the definite imperial conquest of the Amorites. But this early attempt at empire was still unstable, as is shown by the annalistic documents themselves. An examination of these, with the help of the historical facts, shows that there were kingships simultaneously in different cities, as follows:

SUMER AND AKKAD, in a list from Nippur.			Corresponding dates in our absolute chronology.
<i>Ur</i> dynasty	5 kings	117 years	2349-2233
(including the famous Sumerians, Ur-nammu and his successors)			
<i>Isin</i> dynasty	16 kings	225 years	2232-2007
beside which must be placed, according to other documents:			
<i>Larsa</i> dynasty	14 kings	262 years	2234-1972

The two terminal dates, 2007 and 1972, which control these figures, are determined by the detailed knowledge we possess of the wars waged by these peoples, first of Isin and then of Larsa, against the powerful State of Babylon under the Amorites, and their defeat at the hands of Hammurabi and his father. The details of these events are complicated, and we shall not go into them here, although they are admirably related in the documents and the resulting chronological positions are certain.

For the chronological problem before the date 2350 we have first to take into account that the lists we are going to consider, compiled several centuries after the events and entirely legendary for the earlier part, need to be criticized, interpreted, and corrected with the help of historical documents properly so called. These latter are abundant, and enable us to construct a genuine history of the four preceding centuries, *i.e.* at least as far as somewhere about 2700. In this interval is to be placed the attempt made by Lugalzaggisi of Uruk, already mentioned, at a Sumerian empire, followed by the Semitic empire of Akkad whose most famous kings were Sargon and Naram-Sin. In the same period also is the very important history of Lagash and its Sumerian kings, known only from the monuments of the kings themselves and entirely absent from the lists that have come down to us, for reasons not explained by their authors.

The principal document, compiled about the year 2000, consists of a huge list of eighteen dynasties, of which the last seven at least are historical. The second document—the first to be discovered—is that of 1911 (A.D.), which contains the end of the list only and confirms its historicity. As regards the 18th and last dynasty of the general list, historical facts had already caused it to be placed a little way from Urnammu (beginning of Sumer and Akkad, 2350), but we had to wait till 1934 for the definite establishment of the continuity of events, or, more precisely, their overlapping, following lines that are rather more complex than those of simple succession: definite knowledge was provided by the third of the documents, the *Susa* list, quoted below, which shows us the 12th to the 16th dynasties in the general list, directly linked

up with *Ur* and *Isin* (of the Sumer and Akkad list) which follow on.

The list gives in detail each king, the duration of his reign, and the total length of each dynasty. The dynastic cities involved are all old Sumerian places in lower Mesopotamia, except Akkad, which appears towards the end. The list is arranged as follows (p. 53). We have put the main list of the eighteen dynasties first, next on the right the 1911 list, and then the new Susa list of 1934.

It is apparent to begin with, when these documents are placed side by side, that to connect the ascending chronology to the date of the beginning of the *Ur* dynasty (known from the *Sumer and Akkad* list) we must make *Uruk IV* end at this point, and groups 17 and 18 in the main list, *Guti* and *Uruk V*, are therefore to be considered contemporaneous and coincident with some others. But even so, to go back from *Uruk IV* it is not enough to count the figures and add them on to the lower term. The arrangement of events was not so simple as that, and, in particular, the durations were not so long, according to the evidence and the examination of the historical documents. The latter have led recently, in regard to the really historical groups—the 12th and subsequent dynasties—to the recognition that not only must the 17th and 18th be left out of the total chronological reckoning, as we have just said, but also that these seven dynasties (12th–18th), while generally accurate if taken separately, constitute several simultaneous series. Coming to detail: of the various figures given for *Kish IV* the shortest is the true one, and the most famous dynasty, that of Akkad, is too long in the lists with 197 years, or 158, or even 151, its actual duration being only 115 years.

COMPLETE LIST			DOCUMENT OF 1911	SUSA CYLINDER OF 1934
	<i>Kings</i>	<i>Years</i>		
1. <i>Kish I</i>	23	24,310		
2. <i>Uruk I</i>	12	2,310		
3. <i>Ur I</i>	4	171		
4. <i>Awan</i>	3	356		
5. <i>Kish II</i>	8	3,195		
6. <i>Khamazi</i>	1	360		
7. <i>Uruk II</i>	3	188		
8. <i>Ur II</i>	4	108		
9. <i>Adad</i>	1	90		
10. <i>Mari</i>	6	136		
11. <i>Kish III</i>	1	100		
12. <i>Akshak</i>	6	99		
13. <i>Kish IV</i>	7	491		
14. <i>Uruk III</i>	1	25		
15. <i>Akkad</i>	11	197		
16. <i>Uruk IV</i>	5	26		
17. <i>Guti</i>	21	124		
18. <i>Uruk V</i>	1	7		
Obviously mythological				
Historicity now confirmed				
Mythological, like the first two				
Historicity possible				
Legendary (?)				
Historicity now confirmed				
Legendary: <i>Kugbau</i> , the female wine-merchant, whose story is known from other sources				
Duration easily corrected to 97 years				
<i>Lugalzaggisi</i>				
<i>Sargon, Manishtusu, Naram-Sin</i> , etc.				
<i>Urukhegal</i>				
			<i>Kings Years</i> <i>Opis</i> 6 97 <i>Kish</i> 8 586 (corrected to 192) <i>Uruk</i> 1 25 <i>Lugalzaggisi</i> <i>Akkad</i> 12 158  <i>Uruk</i> 5 26	<i>Kings Years</i> <i>Akshak</i> 6 114 <i>Mari</i> 7 485  <i>Uruk</i> 1 25 <i>Lugalzaggisi</i> <i>Akkad</i> 6 151 (list destroyed from the middle) <i>Uruk</i> (figures missing) <i>Guti</i> and <i>Uruk V</i> missing; then follow immediately: <i>Ur</i> 5 120 <i>Isin</i> 6 .. the list agreeing with that of the <i>Ur</i> dynasty, of Sumer & Akkad, preceding that of <i>Isin</i> , in previous document.

The following table of correlations, based on the most recent work in this subject,<sup>1</sup> represents more or less accurately the events of history.

<p>(11) Kish III</p> <p>(13) Kish IV, 97 yrs.</p> <p>2540 2525</p> <p>2608</p> <p>2509</p> <p>2493</p> <p>2428</p>	<p>(12) Akshak, 99 yrs.</p> <p>(15) Akkad, 118 yrs.</p>	<p>(14) Uruk III <i>Lugalzaggisi</i></p> <p>(16) Uruk IV, 26 yrs.</p> <p>Ur</p> <p>Isin</p> <p>etc.</p> <p>SUMER AND AKKAD</p>	<p>2505</p> <p>2480</p> <p>2485</p> <p>2361</p> <p>2345</p> <p>2375</p> <p>2349</p> <p>2233</p> <p>2007</p> <p>Guti, 124 yrs.</p> <p>Uruk V <i>Utukhegal</i></p>
<p>2105: Beginning of 1st Babylonian dynasty (Amorite)</p> <p>etc.</p>			

<sup>1</sup> Christian and Weidner, 1929. Their reconstruction of the table of dynasties treated as simultaneous, which, in essentials, we have followed here, is not accepted by everyone. G. Contenau is the last (Capart and Contenau, *Histoire de l'Orient ancien* 1936) to remain strictly faithful to the chronology of the list of the eighteen dynasties as his chief model, which means, in the main, that he retains the independent duration of the *Guti* dynasty at 124 years. The result is that before the date of the foundation of the 1st Babylonian dynasty in 2105 he eventually, by simple addition that anyone can verify, puts the beginning of the kingship of *Akkad* at 2725, which is more than two centuries earlier, at this point, than our figures.



We have thus set down, it will be seen, the dates of the ancient conquerors from the land of Amurru in the third millennium—Lugalzaggisi about 2500 and Sargon shortly before 2450. For the history of the Mediterranean West we could be content with that, but as we have gone so far as to set down the main list we may as well add its historical, or very probably historical, implications for the earlier part of the third millennium, say the period before 2600, as follows:

<i>Ur I</i>	4 kings	171 years
<i>Ur II</i>	4 „	108 „
<i>Mari</i>	6 „	136 „

This makes a total of 415 years, which, if these figures are correct, would place the beginning of these historical documents in the region of the year 3000. This would not be inadmissible and would agree with the beginning of the 1st Pharaonic dynasty in Egypt. But here again we must shorten the durations on the basis of recently ascertained historical facts. The 1st dynasty of *Ur*, long regarded, from the place it occupies on the list, as legendary, has risen from the earth in a marvellous manner at Ur itself, where American excavations during the last ten years or so have reinstated the wonderful Sumerian civilization in its original and complete form, dazzling in its wealth. It is arranged in three periods, the most recent of which is this very *Ur I*, identified by the person of an important king who appears in this very dynasty in the list. And the archæology of these discoveries enables us now to date this king, who marks the beginning of *Ur I*. Here comes in useful our knowledge, already old, of the history and archæology of Sumerian Lagash, excavated by the French, whose kings in the third millennium

were for some unknown reason not admitted to the great dynastic list but whose site and history are the best known of any in Lower Mesopotamia. At Lagash there was a whole series of kings, of whom the principal ones were:

- c. 2700 Urnanse, transcribed until a few years ago as  
*Urnina*  
 Akurgal  
 Eannatum, of the "Stele of the Vultures" in  
 the Louvre
- c. 2500 Urukagina
- c. 2350 Gudea, of the beautiful statues in the Louvre

and this series of documents continues down to about the year 2000. The internal chronology of Lagash is determined by the monuments of the kings themselves, and is connected continuously with the Babylonian chronology of the second millennium. Thus Urukagina is precisely dated by the certain synchronism of his wars against Lugalzaggisi, and we seem to be right in placing Urnanse at about 2700. And the important fact appears to emerge clearly from the latest researches (1929) that by every artistic, archæological, and cultural analogy *Urnase*, *i.e.* the earliest Lagash period, is contemporary with *Ur I*. This, as we have seen, puts *Ur I* at about 2700, a result which agrees perfectly with an important archæological synchronism obtained in an entirely different quarter and generally accepted nowadays, *viz.* that between this very *Ur I* and the IIIrd Egyptian dynasty.<sup>1</sup>

Beyond *Ur I*, moreover, during a period that can be reckoned at four centuries, *i.e.*, till earlier than 3000,

<sup>1</sup> Contenau, in the *Histoire de l'Orient ancien*, 1936, already mentioned, places Urnanse at about 2900, which is obviously nearer to our figures than he was in the case of the beginning of Akkad some centuries later.

we have extensive evidence at Ur itself, in the realm of archæology if not of history, which corresponds in time with Egyptian events of the Ist and II<sup>nd</sup> Pharaonic dynasties. And just as archæological and proto-historic documents take us back in Egypt very far towards the beginning of the fourth millennium, so in Hither Asia we can now set in their place the long periods of *Uruk*, as far back as 3900. This again was preceded by el-Ubeid, and the appearance of copper at the point of contact with the Neolithic period, with the splendid periods of ancient *Susa* overlapping el-Ubeid and the earliest strata of Uruk, from about 4000 to 3400.

## CHAPTER V

### EGYPT UNDER THE OLD EMPIRE AND SYRO-PHŒNICIA (THIRD MILLENNIUM)

THE history of Syro-Phœnicia in the third millennium is limited for our purposes to what we know of the relations of Egypt with that country on the one hand, and on the other to our knowledge of Egyptian settlements themselves, both on the coast and in the southern part of the interior to which the Egyptians had access by the land route.

At the time of the Ist Pharaonic dynasty, say from the year 3000, the Egyptians made warlike expeditions against the Asiatics of the region beyond the isthmus, as we learn from several inscriptions of the dynasty (palette of Narmer, tablets of Horus *Oudji-mu*, etc.). They set foot also on the Sinaitic peninsula, where they maintained a permanent settlement at the copper and turquoise mines of Wadi Maghara which were exploited by the Egyptians thereafter for a thousand or two thousand years. The leaders of the military and mining expedition who had come to the place to work, left behind them on the red sandstone rock walls of the valley great carvings and inscriptions, showing the figure and name of the king, the names and titles of the leader himself and his fellow-workers, and an invocation to some god. The earliest of these monuments, at Maghara, belongs to the reign of the last king but one of the Ist dynasty, Horus *Semer-Khet*. The next belong to two Pharaohs of the IIIrd dynasty, Horus *Senekht* and his near neighbour, the famous king Zeser,

under Pepi I of the VIth dynasty there is an account of an expedition by land and sea in the celebrated biography of a high official named *Uni* in his tomb at Sakkara. Uni, who had served under several successive kings at this period, ended his career as royal minister, and at one time, long before, he had organized and directed this Asiatic campaign as a military officer.

The Egyptians brought back with them cattle, slaves, and all kinds of more or less valuable materials. The expeditions were not always military and violent: much more frequently, no doubt, and less expensively, they were carried on simply as regular trade exchanges, especially by sea, which gave access to the ports and the highly civilized peoples of the Phœnician coast. In this direction we see very early what extremely important and essential merchandise the Egyptians were in search of on the coast. This was *wood*. Egypt was deficient in timber. Her only large trees were the palm, whose tall and fibrous trunk was not strong enough for beams, and, among hard woods, those like the terebinth, whose twisted branches, thick and solid, made excellent ships' ribs, for example, but nothing else. Since Egypt was deficient in timber for beams and ships' masts she went to seek it on the Phœnician coast from the local princes, who exploited the mountain forests and exported their products. The forests of Lebanon were famous throughout the whole of the ancient period. In the tenth century Solomon, the ally of the king of Tyre, had recourse to the latter to procure timber for the new temple in Jerusalem. About the same time we find in Egyptian literature an account of a diplomatic and commercial expedition sent by the king of Egypt to the coast of Asia to get timber. There is mention of these woods, especially the Asiatic fir and

between 2700 and 2600. After this we reach the classical Memphian period, represented for the IVth dynasty at Maghara by great carvings of *Snefru* and *Cheops*. For the Vth dynasty (before 2400) there are numerous carvings, including several of *Tetkare*, and for the VIth (around 2300) several monuments of the two Pepi kings, *Merire Pepi I* and *Neferkare Pepi II*. The latter of these marks the end of the dynasty, and practically also of the Old Empire, which collapsed into political ruin, interrupting, of course, the expeditions to Sinai. Its earliest manifestation later on was the imperial renaissance called the Middle Empire, under what is commonly reckoned as the XIIth dynasty, beginning about the year 2000.

At the same time, from one end of the Old Empire to the other, in the region beyond the Isthmus, *i.e.* at least in southern Palestine, the tradition begun by the Pharaohs of the Ist dynasty had remained, and overland expeditions were organized. These were of the nature of royal forays or 'razzias,' aiming at glorious plunder, triumphal processions meeting scarcely any obstacles, apparently, apart from the barrier presented by the desert and the steppe. On other occasions the expeditions were made by sea, though we do not exactly know what points of the Palestinian or Phœnician coast were attacked. The sun temple of King *Sahure* of the Vth dynasty in the Memphian necropolis has preserved the representation in bas-relief of one of these maritime expeditions which had brought back much booty and many prisoners. About the same time in the biographical account of an eminent personage on the walls of his tomb at Deshasheh in Middle Egypt we find mention and a representation of warlike operations in Asia in which this personage had taken part. Again,

the particular district from which it came, in a good many other Egyptian texts.<sup>1</sup> There is also mention in the Annals of the *Palermo Stone* for the reign of *Snefru*, the first king of the IVth dynasty (c. 2600), of a certain year in which forty ships arrived in Egypt laden with fir-trees—evidently an important event to be recorded in this manner.

The need for such supplies explains, at least in part, the importance of the permanent settlement—a kind of colony or protectorate—which the Egyptians had at Byblus, in the middle of the Phœnician coast, from the earliest days of the Old Empire. It was rather a protectorate, as will be seen more clearly later, in the second millennium, when we have knowledge of several kings of Byblus who have Egyptian objects in their tombs and were obviously under the influence of the Pharaonic culture. For the earlier period, that of the Egyptian Old Empire, no royal tombs have yet been found at Byblus. But since the excavations of Montet in 1920 and succeeding years we do know the *Egyptian temple* at Byblus, evidently the seat of the Egyptian governor, where the kings of Egypt had offerings made in their name. In this royal treasure of the Old Empire have been found<sup>2</sup> vessels or fragments of vessels of *Khasekh-mui* of the IIInd dynasty, *Cheops* and *Mycerinus* of the IVth, *Unas* of the Vth, and *Teti* and very frequently *Pepi I* of the VIth. Particularly interesting is the finding of a cylinder-seal of the Old Empire,<sup>3</sup> belonging to an officer whose titles are connected with *the gods of Byblus* (the name of the city in full) and who calls himself also "beloved by *Haj-Taou*." This latter

<sup>1</sup> See Montet, in *Syria*, IV, pp. 181 ff.

<sup>2</sup> See Montet, in *Kémi*, I, pp. 84 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Reproduced by Contenau in *Civilisation phénicienne*, p. 11, and discussed in Montet, *Syria*, IV, pp. 181 ff.

divinity, seldom mentioned in Egyptian texts, is met with in a formula of the Pyramids, where it is said of the deceased that he was *Haj-Taou* in the land of *Nega* (*Pyr.* 518). This throws light on the person of the god, for *Nega* is well known in Egyptian geography, and is the very country of origin of the Asiatic woods that the Egyptians went in search of. *Haj-Taou* is therefore the god of this country, and as the Byblus cylinder shows also that he was the most important of the gods of that city, it follows that the *Nega* district was the land of Byblus itself and that it was an important function of the god in question to be the god of the trees. But then other stories at once become clearer. We have abundant knowledge from Greek tradition of the great god of Byblus, who was in reality a personification of the power of growth, the central hero of the myth of the death and yearly rebirth of vegetation and life, called *Adonis* (*Adon*, *Adoni*, in Semitic = 'lord,' 'my lord'). In the local legend brought back by the Greeks it is declared that Adonis was "born of the fir-tree." We realize then that *Haj-Taou*, the great god of the trees, and *Adonis*, the great god of Byblus, born of the fir-tree, are one and the same. It is possible also that the two names are really only one, for *Haj-Taou*, which has no meaning in the Egyptian language, could be explained as a transcription of the Semitic *Adon*.

In the light of all this, too, the inscription on the Byblus cylinder becomes clearer if we note that in the part of the formula that mentions "the gods of Byblus" there appears beside the principal figure, *Haj-Taou*, that of a goddess depicted with the features of Isis-Hathor with her diadem of cows' horns. For this figure is the very one habitually met with in Egypt to represent the Phœnician *Astarte*. So the cylinder bears, side by side,



Adonis and Astarte, the great central divine couple of the legend of Byblus, of which the two personages are the indispensable protagonists of the agrarian myth—the annual drama of death and rebirth in the spring.

The details of the legend are somewhat complicated and have come down to us in several forms. We always find that Adonis is slain at the end of summer by a boar while hunting. His wife Astarte weeps for the death of her divine companion, her lamentations forming undoubtedly the theme of one of the main scenes in the yearly celebration. She then sets out to search for him, finds him again (in *Hades*, according to the Greek version), and recalls him to life, no doubt by the use of magic. We have only the Greek story, however, and the Greeks did not clearly comprehend it all, so that it requires some effort to interpret it and sometimes to infer and restore the general outline, which is fortunately intelligible. To sum it up, therefore, Adonis is killed and then recalled to life, which symbolizes winter and spring; then the cycle begins again, and each year the drama is continually renewed, being indispensable to the order and continuance of the world. It is carried out in religious form under the very eyes of men, taking shape in the form of a great dramatic celebration.

If we can see this with certainty, without any knowledge of Adonis and the Adonies in their original native source, it is because we have a striking and more precisely known parallel to the story in the Egyptian legend of the death and rebirth of *Osiris*. *Osiris*, who eventually became the god of the dead, by a widening process that we will not study here, was originally the hero of the agrarian myth regarded as a matter of yearly death and rebirth, exactly as happens in the

Phœnician legend. The story of Osiris is told at length by Plutarch, and we have also in original Egyptian documents the ritual of the annual celebration and numerous fragments of legends which can be fitted in to supply what is missing. The final result is that in the primitive form of the legend, divested of all adventitious persons and episodes, Osiris is a beneficent spirit put to death by his brother Set, the spirit of death and sterility. His sister-spouse Isis, the great magician, gives herself up to lamentation (as Astarte does for the death of Adonis), then finds the body of her husband and recalls him to life by magical means, thus determining the recommencement and continuance of the universe. This is obviously the very same legendary cycle in the same spirit as that of the Phœnician version.

The Egyptians had noticed from earliest times the general identity of the two accounts, and had quite naturally concluded that the Adonis of the foreigners was the same person as Osiris and that Astarte was identical with Isis, which is the very reason why they depicted Astarte with the features of Isis, as we have just seen. But from *our* point of view it is evident that the Egyptian and the Phœnician legends were derived from a common prototype, however ancient they both may be. (The god and goddess of Byblus appear at the time of the Old Empire in Egypt, and so too the story of Osiris, Set, and Isis is found in the Pyramid texts, about the beginning of the Pharaonic period.) This is a valuable indication of the close relations that existed in religious matters before the third millennium, but there are still others. We have come to see that historically Osiris and Adonis were in very truth the same figure, transferred from one country to the other

under a different name or the original one, and it can even be definitely stated that of the two forms the Phœnician is the primitive one, and that it was introduced into Egypt from Asia.

This is revealed by the preservation in the Egyptian Osiris-legend of the *tree theme* so characteristic of Adonis, and of the localization of one part of the story at Byblus itself. It is in the Greek form that these characteristic facts are gathered together. It is related by Plutarch, in substance, that when Set had accomplished the slaying of Osiris the latter was put in a chest which was thrown into the sea. The sea carried it to the shore at Byblus, where it was stranded and got fixed in the branches of a tree. The tree grew and incorporated the body within itself. Isis, searching for the body, arrived at Byblus, but the king of the city, filled with admiration for the splendid tree, had it cut down and used to make a pillar for his palace. Isis, after some episodes, resolved to explain to the king what the pillar contained, whereupon he allowed her to take it down and remove it. The story goes on to describe the resurrection of the god, a process that is interrupted and complicated by other episodes, more or less superfluous, showing the hostility of Set, but all that interests us has been already said and done. Osiris incorporated in the tree, Osiris in the tree and rising again from the tree, precisely as Adonis is the son of the tree in the Phœnician legend, and the localization of the incident at Byblus too—all this would be quite incomprehensible if there had been no adaptation of a story originating at Byblus itself.

It remains to be explained how it comes about that it was Egypt that received this important mythical adaptation from Asia and not the other way about, for

it would seem at first sight that Egypt, even in the very earliest times was, compared with the tiny Phœnicia, a very great country, extending its influence widely in spiritual as in all other things. But the fact is that this great Egypt from its Pharaonic beginnings was not made spontaneously and within a girdle of closed frontiers. Before the time of the Pharaohs it had received a very important part of its substance from Asia, and Osiris and the agrarian legend were elements, among many others, of this imported capital. It will be useful to examine this situation in a general way.

We have already had occasion, in dealing with the arrival of the Semites in Syro-Palestine before the third millennium and perhaps very long before the year 3000, to remark that in Egypt also an important Semitic immigration had long preceded the development which led to the beginning of the Pharaonic regime about the year 3000. Archæology now enables us to reconstruct, as a whole, the history of the long pre-Pharaonic periods, and to distinguish at the end of the prehistoric era several clearly defined periods, characterized by their industries, cultures, arts, and finally the gradual development of writing. Taken as a whole these periods comprise a *first civilization*, extending over perhaps a thousand years; a *second civilization*, covering another thousand; and then, much more precisely defined, a *protohistoric* or *predynastic* period of 300 or maybe 500 years, immediately preceding the birth of the unified Pharaonic Egypt of the 1st dynasty.

The *second civilization* appeared, it would seem, about 4500 B.C. It was altogether different from the *first civilization* that preceded it, and there are very marked indications that it was brought by an invasion of

Asiatic peoples who, being better armed and more civilized, spread over the country and then, by admixture with the existing population and a fusion of cultures, produced the substance and the very prosperous circumstances of the Egypt of historic times. The important Semitic element discovered by philologists in the Egyptian language was brought by these conquerors of a distant period along with a flood of innovations in all technical methods, and undoubtedly also in intellectual things. In the earliest Egyptian religion as far as we know it, certain significant elements can be distinguished which most probably came from Asia, especially the great *natural* religions—sun, air and earth, sky and sea—in opposition to the old city gods which themselves seem most frequently to have been of native, pre-Asiatic origin. Now among these general natural religions it is particularly likely that the religion of *Horus* came from Asia (Horus may at first have been the *sky* before becoming the principal god of the conquering princes), and above all the religion of the *agrarian Osiris*. In these circumstances it is not surprising that the Adonis myth should be rediscovered in Osiris. The name is different, but it must be borne in mind that the name *Adonis*, which in any case was only an assumed name chosen for concealment, was perhaps not employed as an appellation outside Byblus itself: quite possibly the actual name “Osiris” was the primitive name of the “Lord” of Byblus—the concealed name that was prohibited in the current exercise of the Semitic religion.

Adonis and Astarte became the leading divinities of Syro-Phœnicia in the Greek period, but at no time were they the only gods, not even in their native Phœnician home. The Phœnician pantheon was a large one, and

there were many religions. All that need be said here is that in each city, within a group of gods generally equally well known in other cities or countries, there was one principal god, a dominating figure who was the *lord* of the district. In many cases this chief local god had no name to himself. This is surprising to us, but as we have just recalled in connexion with the god of Byblus, it was really only a pretence or concealment of the name which was kept secret or completely forgotten ritually. This was a consequence of a fundamental conception in the magical religion of the Semites, *viz.* the identity of an object with its name, the creation of an object by pronouncing its name, the possession (in the strict sense) of the object by knowing its name, which gives the magician—the man who knows the name—the faculty of getting in his power and summoning to do his pleasure the invisible power that he is able to name. In the working of this power lies the key to all the legends of religious origins in Semitic tradition. The supposed descendants of the god, the possessors in historic times of a sanctuary dating from time immemorial, invariably explained its history by going back to the local spirit of earliest days, unknown to men and therefore wretched, starving, and miserable, the devourer of the wandering trespasser on his domain. But one day it happened that one of these travellers, being stronger than the common run of men, resisted when attacked, reduced the god to submission, and forced him, on pain of death, to *reveal his name*. The victorious hero who had thus become master of the divine person, set up a stone or a tree to commemorate the occasion—the very object seen in historic times in the middle of the actual sanctuary. He had been the first *priest*, and the priestly caste, confined to his direct

descendants, had control of the secrets of the place and of the oracle handed down from their ancestor by right of inheritance. Such was the story among the earliest Israelites of the *revelation* of the national god at Kadesh in the desert by Moses, of the *revelation* of the god of Bethel by Jacob, and similarly of all the rest.

In religious practice there arose, in the spirit of such notions as these, the serious problem of guarding against the possibility of attacks on the liberty of the god. We might almost say that precautions were taken to prevent the repetition (which would be most unfortunate) of the august and formidable drama of early days—the conquest of the god. So the name of the god was suppressed and forgotten. He was generally called *Baal*, or “Lord,” and so we hear of the *Baal* or the *Baalat* (“Lady”) of such and such a city, just as the Babylonians used *Bel* and *Belit* (the same word), or *Melek*, meaning “King.” So too *Adon*, as we have seen, meant “Lord.” In some cases the appellation consisted of a periphrasis, as at Tyre, where *Melqart* meant “King of the city.” At Sidon the chief god was *Eshmun*, a somewhat obscure name which may be analysed into *ism-un*, meaning “our appellant,” “the one who is invoked by us,” or “our listener.” *Resheph* is “the luminous”—a figure whom the Greeks identified with Apollo.

At Beirut there was a (female) *Balaat Berut* of whom we know no other name. The *Balaat Gebel*, on the other hand, the goddess of Byblus whom we already know, was called by her true name *Astart*, the Astarte of the Greeks, and we have seen that she was the wife of the *Adon* of the city, the “Lord” *par excellence*. What was the real name of this Adonis of Byblus whose name was forgotten? We have supposed that it may

have been the name found in the parallel form of the famous legend in Egypt, *viz. Osiris*. But in Hebrew, as well as in the Mesopotamian legend, the god of plant rebirth, of corn and fertility, was called *Tammuz*, which is a very old Sumerian name, *Dumuzi*, which gives us an inkling that these gods and religions of Syro-Phœnicia may have had far distant origins and affinities in the whole of Semitic and non-Semitic Asia, principally in Babylonian and Sumerian Mesopotamia. And there are also extensive sources in Asia Minor.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> For all details concerning the figures and formation of the Phœnician pantheon see the chapter on the subject in Contenau, *Civilisation phénicienne* (1926), and, for more complete treatment, the full account given by Eduard Meyer in *Geschichte des Altertums*, II, 2nd edition, 1931.



## CHAPTER VI

### ASIA AND BYBLUS AT THE TIME OF THE EGYPTIAN MIDDLE EMPIRE

#### A. MATERIAL FROM EGYPTIAN SOURCES

DURING the Middle Empire, whose central period was that of the XIIth dynasty, about 2000-1760, the new Egyptian domination in Asia continued along all the lines of action followed in the preceding period: warlike expeditions into Palestine, mining undertakings in Sinai, and continuing relations with the Phœnician coast and principally with Byblus. It is in Egyptian documents of this period that we find the appearance, to denote Asiatic places and peoples, of the old *Seirite* names of the Biblical terminology, designating, as we know, the *pre-Hebraic* peoples of the South Palestine area. This region was the only inland one with which the Egyptians were already well acquainted. Among these Biblical *Seirite* or *Horite* names we note in particular among the Egyptians the name *Lotan*, which seems to denote the whole of this part of Asia in the most general manner.

There is in particular a biography from Abydos, that of Khu-Sebek, who served in an expedition of the King Senusret III against the Asiatics, in the course of which an entry was made into the lands of *Sekmem* and *Lotan*. So besides Lotan we meet here with a *Sekmem* which appears to be the *Shechem* of Galilee, which was to be the capital of the future kingdom of Israel (the northern kingdom of Israelite history).

The name *Lotan* appears also in the inscriptions in the mines of Sinai. The exploitation of Wadi Maghara continued, and a large number of inscriptions have been left by the leaders of the expeditions on the rocks in the valley, containing the names of kings, with precise dates. Another place in this mountain, about twenty miles away, called Serabit el-Khadim, was also discovered and exploited for copper and turquoise. It was quite differently situated, being an extensive rising plateau in a splendid position, intersected by deep gorges in the walls of which cropped out the layers of precious stones or beds of ore. These were penetrated by horizontal cuttings, often opened to the sky by vertical shafts. A quarry of this kind was always a network of caverns and horizontal and vertical passages carefully cut with proper corners, as were the quarries of the ancients in all periods. Here, as at Maghara, we find very many inscriptions of the same kind, either on the pediments of the entrances to the galleries or on the walls of the shafts. They contain actual accounts of expeditions of this period, often elaborated into most useful narratives.

This Serabit el-Khadim is a huge area a mile or two in extent, topographically complex and very laborious to investigate archæologically in such a tangle of ravines with mines and inscriptions everywhere. At the central apex was the plateau, on which the Egyptians had built a temple to their goddess *Hathor*, called "the Lady of the Turquoise" in the Sinaitic settlements. At Serabit el-Khadim she had undoubtedly replaced the native Semitic divinity who reigned over this desert, and dwelt, in the Semitic manner, in a *bama* or standing stone which crowned the highest point of the hill—the Semitic *high place* in its purest form. There are traces of this

*Baalat* or native "Lady" of Serabit, for it was there that the expedition of 1905 discovered the surprising inscriptions called *palæo-Sinaitic*, which have since then been in process of elucidation. To judge from the number of signs the system is an alphabetic one, which seemed extraordinary to our explorers in the period 1908-1910, as the origins of the Phœnician alphabet, as far as was then known, did not go back further than the ninth century. The new inscriptions at Serabit, to be sure, do not belong to the Middle Empire but to a period some centuries later, during the New Empire, shortly after 1500. But this date, owing to the alphabetic character of the inscriptions, still seemed very far back. Now that we are better informed, and know that the invention of the alphabet goes back considerably earlier than the ninth century—the Phœnician alphabet appears at Byblus in the thirteenth and another alphabetic system was in use at Ras-Shamra in Northern Syria at the same time—the *palæo-Sinaitic* of the fifteenth century is less surprising. It is still regarded, however, with extreme caution, and this must be maintained till the deciphering is accomplished and the alphabetic nature of the writing is certain. The difficulties are not yet overcome, for the deciphering has only begun and all attempts at further progress have proved unavailing. This beginning was made possible by the help of two or three monuments of the *bilingual* class, the inscription consisting of a text in the new writing alongside of another in hieroglyphics. The latter text first settled the date, which is that of the New Empire. Next it was observed that this text is invariably an invocation to *Hathor*, corresponding in the other inscription to a group of characters which it is agreed to read as *Baalat*, the *Lady*, but this point in

the reading, involving the values of four signs in the new system, is all that is probable, and even that cannot be said to be perfectly certain.

The "high place" of this *Baalat* must have been covered up at the beginning of the New Empire by the Egyptian temple. Like the crest of a cliff it dominated the hollow of a deep valley in the background, with a drop of several hundred yards, beyond which the other side of the valley on the distant northern horizon was a lofty cliff of white chalk, the edge of the plateau of Tih. In front the plateau rose gently from the south up to the crest, and this long slope, for its last half mile in front of the temple, was arranged as a kind of avenue through a vast collection of massive stelæ covered on four sides with inscriptions commemorating mining expeditions and sacrifices to the goddess. Each expedition had erected its own stele, completely inscribed. The effect of this disorderly forest of standing hieroglyphic stones, without grouping or alignment, is most awe-inspiring in that impressive solitude. It extends as far as the outer wall of the temple, and the army of stelæ continues in the inner enclosure in more and more closely packed masses up to the door of the underground halls which form the sanctuary and are dug out of the little hill at the summit.

The inscriptions have the same object and are composed in the same way as those of the neighbouring mines. The descriptions of the work are at times surprisingly precise and detailed, at least in the case of those of the Middle Empire itself, *i.e.* the XIIth dynasty, which are far more vivid than those of the succeeding period.

Among these stelæ we will here mention only the one left by Se-nefret, an officer of a king of the XIIth

dynasty whose name is lost, who went up to the temple with the whole of his staff to sacrifice to the goddess. There is a long and detailed account of the names and titles of all the persons present, and at the head, immediately after the Egyptian commander, comes *the brother of the chief of Lotan*, "*Khebbed*." In this extremely interesting entry appears the person of a native sheikh, regarded as both an ally and a partner, supplying local workmen for the mines, just as is done in the desert at this very day. We see also that the name *Lotan* again appears. Now here we are not in Palestine, as in the description of the war of Senusret III, but far away to the south and in the heart of the desert: since the sheikh found to be associated with the expedition is called "*brother of the chief of Lotan*," *i.e.* since this tribal chief who had delegated him, his eldest brother, was regarded by the Egyptians as *chief of Lotan*, it was undoubtedly because *Lotan* was from the Egyptian point of view the general name of the land of Asia at this period.

Apart from Sinai relations with Phœnicia-Palestine itself were certainly abundant and continuous. At Beni-hasan in Middle Egypt are the fine tombs of the princes of the nome of the Gazelle, dating from about the middle of the XIIth dynasty, and in the pictures accompanying the biography of Prince Khnumhotep I there is a detailed and most picturesque representation of the arrival in his city of a caravan of Asiatics, of marked Semitic type, clad in beautiful coloured garments and bringing presents. The scene is explained by written legends, with the Semitic names of the personages. These Asiatics could scarcely have reached Beni-hasan, 190 miles south of Cairo, except by the direct desert route, after crossing the Red Sea.

For the same period we have also a valuable account of an Egyptian journey into Asia. This is the extraordinary story of *Sinuhe*, an Egyptian prince, son of the king, who was forced to flee to Asia in consequence of a political mischance which threatened his life, and who spent several years there before being recalled by the reigning Pharaoh. This incident, which is merely an anecdote in a historical setting, was the subject of a book—a story related and written with the racy perfection that characterizes the literature of the Middle Empire. It met with great success, and was so often copied that by putting together the various copies that have been preserved we have the whole text without gaps. In it *Sinuhe* relates the accident of which he was the victim. While on an expedition with his elder brother, the heir to the throne, he had the misfortune to be present at the arrival of a special messenger from the palace and heard the announcement to the crown prince of the death of the old king Amenemhet I. In the East such occasions are very important ones, especially when the legitimate heir is at a distance from the capital, to which he has to return by forced marches in order to forestall any rivals, while the death of the father is kept as secret as possible until his successor has seized the reins of power. So poor *Sinuhe*, terrified and fearful of being put out of the way because of his knowledge of the dangerous news, did not return to his tent, but fled into the desert. There he narrowly escaped death and at length reached the civilized land of Palestine. Here began for him a series of marvellous adventures, like a heroic story or a kind of *Thousand and One Nights*, during which he became a prince in Asia, very powerful and wealthy, until his reigning brother, the historical Sensusret I, son of Amenemhet,

recalled him and caused him to return with honour. Some of the details of the story have clearly an authentic ring, notably in the course of the reception of the fugitive by a local prince after his flight into the desert: he gave his name and the Asiatic asked him in guarded words whether any misfortune had befallen the Pharaoh whereby he (Sinuhe) had been led to cross the frontier in this fashion. Sinuhe replied with equal caution, singing the praises of the successor who was now master of Egypt and "whose affairs until this day he had looked after while the old king stayed in his palace." To us this information is of great interest, for we happen to know from another source that the old Amenemhet had in reality escaped assassination at the hands of conspirators, and had ever since lived in retirement, practically dispossessed by the son who was one day to succeed him.

In such circumstances it is not to be wondered at that the story of Sinuhe is full of most lifelike and realistic details about Asia. Even if it is to be regarded, as is very probable, as a romance woven around an actual historical incident, it is a story written by a contemporary, and one who knew his Asia perfectly. The points to be particularly noted in this document are the names of the chiefs, the natives with whom Sinuhe was associated, and the names of the places in the vast land in which his journey took place. This land bears the general name of *Lotan*. Naturally, names of the old Semitic realm appear as well, and Sinuhe, reaching Syria in the course of the story, is found arriving at Byblus, the capital of the coast and the city of Phœnicia-Palestine that was best known to the Egyptians of that age.

That brings us to Byblus, where the Egyptians were

present as in the earlier period, and with whose situation during the Middle Empire we are to-day well acquainted.

### B. MATERIAL FROM BYBLUS

According to the finds yielded by excavations in the Egyptian temple at Byblus, the duration of that temple and of the occupation to which it bears witness was not confined to the Old Empire, for in the deposits in the temple have been found many Egyptian scarabs of the Middle Empire, *i.e.* the period of the XIIth dynasty (2000-1760), and the period immediately following. A remarkable royal monument has also been recovered—a great bas-relief depicting the Prince of Byblus, *Inaten*, son of *Rin* (evidently a *Jonatan*) before the legend of a Pharaoh of the period following the XIIth dynasty, with all these names and particulars in Egyptian hieroglyphics.<sup>1</sup>

But for the XIIth dynasty we have documents at Byblus itself of still greater value. Excavation has uncovered the burial-place of the princes of the city, five of whose tombs are known so far, and in one of them is the body of the owner, definitely attested by the monuments and funeral furnishings and their inscriptions in the name of this prince.

The first find, in 1922, was made by accident. A fall of cliff brought to light in the side of the slope a cavity which was an underground funeral chamber. The passage leading to it was constructed as a rising slope, closed at the top by a wall of masonry. When this was pulled down there was found beyond it the bottom of a vertical shaft rising to the surface of the plateau.

<sup>1</sup> Montet in *Kémi*, I, 1928, p. 91. There have also been dug up two scarabs of the same prince *Inaten* (Newberry in *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, 14 (1928), p. 109).



This was the original means of access to the tomb, and after the burial it had been filled in, with the filling supported at the bottom on the low wall that closed the passage.

In the chamber were many accessories, including a medley of Mycenæan and Egyptian jewellery, vessels of painted pottery and alabaster, and a large covered sarcophagus. All the pieces were well marked archaeologically and dated from round about 1900, a date which was at once to be confirmed and fixed in the most precise manner by other objects from the tomb itself.

Among the fine pieces in this collection, besides the remarkable teapot-shaped ewer of ribbed silver, a very beautiful work of Mycenæan inspiration, made familiar by numerous reproductions, is the no less famous *balsamary* of obsidian with gold bands on the rim and at the base and bearing the hieroglyph for "perfume" on the upper gold band. On the lid, which is also mounted with a circular gold band in the form of a crown, are two small pieces of the same metal fitted into the two ends of the diameter and bearing the names of Amenemhet III of the XIIth Egyptian dynasty. This reference to a king on the very sumptuous vessel of Egyptian workmanship clearly reveals the origin and purpose of such objects: they were presents from the King of Egypt to a prince who was evidently in the position of a vassal to the Egyptian sovereign. In the sarcophagus was also a bronze weapon of the kind called *harpe* in Greek—a ceremonial sword in the form of a large long-handled sickle. This is adorned by representations of the golden uræus inlaid in the blade.

In the following year, 1923, systematic excavation undertaken on the plateau around the first tomb yielded three similar ones belonging to the same Middle Empire

period, and at the same time a fourth one was found, five or six centuries later in date. This was the famous royal tomb of *Ahiram*, whose principal monument is of capital importance, as we shall see, for the history of the origins of Phœnician writing. Here, however, we shall speak only of the Middle Empire group.

In these three princely tombs, as in the first one discovered, were found objects sent from Egypt and other 'Egyptizing' ones made on the spot. Among them are again several *harpæ* of the same type as the first. One of the tombs, according to the legend (always in hieroglyphics) on one of the *harpæ*, is that of the Prince of Byblus named *Ipshemu-ibi*, son of Prince *Ibishemu* (to be read preferably as *Ibishe*, which would then be the name of one of the Asiatic personages in the Beni-hasan picture already described). There are also pectorals in gold cloisonné, one like a temple façade in the Egyptian manner, another in the form of a shell and bearing the princely legend in hieroglyphics. But these pectorals did not come from Egypt: they are copies, obviously made with a certain lack of skill, especially the hieroglyphic inscriptions on the *harpe* as well as on the pectoral.<sup>1</sup> Another fine piece is a knife with a silver blade inlaid with gold (*i.e.* damascened), and the handle covered with a leaf of gold nielloed in black in a chequered design.

Particularly to be remarked in the tomb of *Ipshemu-ibi* is the presence of objects offered by *Amenemhet IV*,<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> For all these documents and inscriptions see Montet in *Kémi*, I, p. 92. Note also the existence of a scarab of the same prince *Ibishemu* (the father), evidently stolen during the excavations and discovered again on sale in Egypt (Newberry in *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, 19 (1933), p. 54). For a fine general catalogue of the objects from all these tombs see Chéhab, *Un trésor d'orfèvrerie syro-égyptien*, in *Bulletin du Musée de Beyrouth*, I (1937).

<sup>2</sup> *Kémi*, I, p. 93; Montet, *Byblos et l'Égypte*, Nos. 653, 787, 853.

which dates the tomb later than that of the unnamed prince, who belongs to the time of Amenemhet III. Under the XIIth dynasty Egypt had official relations also with *Qatna*, farther to the north-east, near the Orontes, where there is a sphinx of the Princess *Ita* of the family of Amenemhet II in the temple.<sup>1</sup> After the XIIth dynasty the history of the local royalty is continued by the *Jonatan* of the bas-relief in the temple at Byblus already mentioned, contemporary with *Khasekhemre Neferhotep*, about the year 1700. After this point these documents of Egyptian origin and inspiration are interrupted at the same time as the Egyptian world fell into disorder until the restoration of the New Empire about 1570. After that date the Egyptian Empire reconquered Palestine and Syria, the cities falling back quietly into vassalage to the Pharaohs, and one day, no doubt, we shall find the tombs of the kings of Byblus who were contemporary with the Thothmeses and the Amenhoteps, as well as the objects received as gifts from these illustrious overlords. But for the present the series of royal tombs at Byblus is not resumed until a later date, with that of *Ahiram*, c. 1250, in the reign of Ramses II. This is the last of the five tombs discovered in 1922 and 1923, to whose monuments we shall give special attention later.

Meanwhile, however, in pursuing the history of Phœnicia and Syro-Palestine after the Egyptian Middle Empire, *i.e.* after about 1750, we shall be aided and considerably enlightened at the beginning of the New Empire by Egyptian documents, and particularly by the broad picture of the Syro-Palestinian area that emerges from the collections of Egyptian pieces of the New Empire, both in hieroglyphics and in cuneiform

<sup>1</sup> *Syria*, 1928, pp. 10-11.

Akkadian, the latter being found in the records of the correspondence of Egyptian kings with Asia. But in this Syro-Palestine of the second millennium thus discovered we shall meet with a new population element of the greatest importance, arising from Indo-European immigration. We must see first who the Indo-Europeans were—a huge collection of peoples speaking the same language, or languages as yet little differentiated, in an enormous geographical area, who came down from the north on to the entire front of Asia and Europe. Starting about the year 2000, they covered India and the Mediterranean area, Greece and Italy, and as far as Gaul, as well as the sector between Greece and India—Asia Minor, the middle country of Syro-Palestine, and the Tigro-Euphrates basin as far as the very middle of Mesopotamia.

## CHAPTER VII

### COMING OF THE INDO-EUROPEANS: KASSITES, MITANNIANS, AND HITTITES (2000-1500)

THE Indo-Europeans were a *linguistic group*, exactly as the Semitic group was, and as different as the Semites both from the Sumerians and from the peoples of the primitive "Asiatic" group. The Indo-European languages, already greatly differentiated in the classical period (say during the first millennium), were at that time the Celtic in Gaul and neighbouring countries, the Latin and other Italic tongues of the peninsula, the Greek around the Aegean Sea, the Germanic on the continent north of Italy, the Slavonic to the north of the Hellenic area, the Armenian, and, finally, the Sanskrit in India.

The whole of linguistic Europe to-day is Indo-European. Germany is Germanic, England is Germano-Celtic, and pure Celtic is preserved in Ireland as well as in the Breton of French Lower Brittany. French is a mixture of this Celtic, which once covered the whole of Gaul, with Latin, and Italian is more closely akin to Latin.

Emerging from the Indo-European waves that once covered Europe there have long remained little islands, as it were, that bear witness to the linguistic areas before the invasion. The Romans of the classical period, about the beginning of the Christian era, were acquainted with nations in Gaul, particularly on the Provençal coast, who spoke a tongue incomprehensible to the Latins. It was not Gallic, as they truly said—*i.e.* not

Celtic—and the peoples who spoke it are known to us, following the classical authors, as *Ligurians*. The speech of these peoples died out on the Mediterranean, but the *Basque* of the Lower Pyrenees (which the Romans did not know) is still living and entirely unrelated to Indo-European. The same phenomenon persists in the Caucasian dialects, north-east of the Black Sea, which are similarly unrelated to Indo-European and Semitic. These Basque and Caucasian “islands” are thoroughly living remains of the languages spoken in Europe before the coming of the Indo-Europeans. But in the western part of North Africa—Morocco and Algeria—the *Berber*, which has nothing in common with the Semitic Arabic, is more than this, for it remains throughout the whole of a large area. The Indo-Europeans never reached this region, at least linguistically and culturally, and the Semites after the Roman period did not completely cover the country.

Coming down from the north on to the wide space between the longitude of India and the Balkan peninsula at least, the Indo-Europeans quite naturally arrived in parallel waves instead of spreading out from a central point. The object and method of this uniform “trek” are not clear. What we do understand is the uniformity of language among all these peoples who, during a period impossible to measure but undoubtedly very long, had dwelt in the vast Russo-Siberian plain where movement was unimpeded by natural obstacles, so that all exchanges had been encouraged for thousands of years by the ease of communications over level ground and by the rivers.

This advance on a wide front, however, had to be changed at the western extremity into a fan-shaped expansion for the south-westerly progress of the Italiots,

perhaps also of the Germans, and above all of the Celts in the extreme west. The arrival of these different groups at the end of very long journeys would seem to have involved movements in several stages, extending over several centuries, and we should expect to find that the Celts, for instance, reached Gaul later than the Italiots reached Italy and the Hellenes Greece, and, above all, much later than their kinsmen who migrated to the area between Asia Minor and India, who had merely to march directly south. And this is what actually happened. The Celts appear to have occupied their lands as late as about 1200, whereas the earliest of the Hellenes—their advance guard, the *Achæans*—had arrived in their peninsula about 1400; the Indo-Europeans of Asia Minor, who by admixture with the native population were to become the peoples labelled *Hittites*, were there between 1950 and 1900; and the *Kassites*, who descended on the Tigro-Euphrates basin, conquered Babylon in 1750 and had therefore made contact with Mesopotamia earlier than that date. The dynasty founded by these Kassites is the third on the standard list of the ten Babylonian dynasties whose chronology we have dealt with. These conquerors were Indo-Europeans, judging by the names of several of their chief divinities, which are *Aryan*, and the names of many of their kings during the 576 years that their dynasty lasted. Thus *Gandash* the conqueror, *Kash-tiliash*, *Ulamburiash*, and much later *Kara-Indash* in the fifteenth century, *Burna-buriash*, etc., are all names in which the ending *-ash* (=Greek *-os* and Latin *-us*) reveals their linguistic affinities.

We are not concerned with the history of these peoples after they had become Babylonians, or of those who migrated to India at the eastern extremity of the

wave of advance. But their identity and their date are important, for we can take it that there arrived at the same time, a little farther to the west, the conquering Indo-Europeans of the middle Euphrates, the whole of the land within the great bend of the river and as far as Syria. In this land were founded the empires that are so well known from Egyptian records in the Akkadian tongue, round about 1400, to be dealt with fully later on. This Euphratean realm, called by the Egyptians *Naharin* (a Semitic word meaning "land of rivers") was called by the people of Shinar *Mitanni*, *Hurri*, and also *Hana* (or *Hanigalbat*), the latter term apparently standing for the sum of the first two, though it is to be noted that *Mitanni* is also applicable to the whole country. But in the primary sense of the term *Mitanni* was the name of an aristocratic population, the dominating element in the land, related by language and proper names, as well as by religion, to the Indo-European *Hittites*. The royal dynasty that we know of among these people in the fifteenth century was Indo-European, judging by the names of the kings. And these *Mitannians* were culturally very marked *Aryans*, as much so as their kinsmen in India themselves, since we know from Mitannian contracts (in Babylonian cuneiform, of course) that their chief gods included *Mithra*, *Varuna*, *Indra*, and all the great Aryan and Vedic figures. But that was only the conquering element, the new-comers, alongside of whom remained the native *Hurrite* population, these ancient Hurrites being identical with the Hurrites who were the principal element in the early population of Asia Minor,<sup>1</sup> with

<sup>1</sup> We have already referred several times in general terms (Chapters II and III) to this *Hurri*, the chief element at the earliest stage of human occupation in *Subartu*, the vast continental area to the north of Mesopotamia.



their ancient gods *Teshub*, *Simika*, the goddess *Sauska*, and so forth.

Owing to its composition the Mitannian State remained always an ill-compacted unit, if we are to judge from its later history.

Parallel with the conquest of Mitanni, as part of the same movement, and probably at the very earliest stage, came the advance of the Indo-Europeans who entered Syro-Palestine, and we know from the same Egyptian documents and records of the fourteenth century that they arrived and settled in the south. Before coming to them, however, we must deal with the *Hittites* of Asia Minor, because about them we have absolutely direct information, not from Egyptian or Babylonian sources but from themselves, and because the Hittite annals, abundant and detailed, contribute in large measure to our knowledge of Mitanni, for which our only other source of enlightenment is Babylonia and Egypt.

A people called *Hatti* (or *Khatti*) had long been known to us from Egyptian annals of the New Empire. Their centre was in the north, probably in Asia Minor, where they formed a great empire, at war with the Egyptian empire of the XIXth dynasty, for Egypt and the Hatti were rivals for the possession of Syria until the strife was interrupted by the great peace of 1270 under Ramses II. By the terms of this peace the two empires met one another on a frontier cutting Syria in two. These Hatti, thus known from Egyptian sources, were identified with certain *Hittites* mentioned in the Bible as living in Palestine and conjectured to have been a detached and immigrant portion of the northern people. It was suspected, too, that if it ever became possible

to make a systematic search in Asia Minor the *Hatti* would be found in their own domain.

Explorers in Asia Minor during the nineteenth century had already made known many places where there were great ruins—very imposing stone palaces, the centres of great cities or of royal residences, their walls covered with hieroglyphics in the Egyptian manner, but actually having nothing in common with Egyptian hieroglyphics. Of these ruins the principal ones are those of *Euyuk*, *Zenjirli*, *Boghaz Keui*, *Marash*, etc. These royal palaces concealed under their heaps of debris the history that would certainly be sought after one day. This was not possible under the old Turkish rule, but after the Great War the Germans made extensive excavations at *Boghaz Keui*, one of the most important of the ruined cities, in the east centre of the Anatolian mountains.

The results were immediate, extremely unexpected, and incredibly rich in historical information. The principal find was the discovery of "libraries"—vast collections of cuneiform tablets written in Assyro-Babylonian characters, an entirely different system from that of the hieroglyphics on the walls. But on the first attempt to read these texts they were found, most surprisingly, to be unintelligible, being neither Akkadian nor, of course, Sumerian.

The Assyriologists set to work to decipher and interpret these texts. They worked on the principle, justified by long experience in deciphering cuneiform during the nineteenth century, that to write a language that was not Akkadian the whole of the Akkadian signs had been adopted, both the *syllabary* of signs having phonetic value and the *ideograms* with their representational value. The texts to be deciphered were therefore a mixture of *phonetic* writing all transliterated,

producing vocables of unknown meaning, and *ideograms* whose pronunciation in the new texts was unknown, but which represented objects and words of known meaning. This was the same method that had originally made it possible to decipher Akkadian by reference to Persian, when once that was understood, and later on to decipher Sumerian by reference to Akkadian in the same way. This meant a long process of successive induction and approximation for each of the languages, an admirable piece of work which Assyriologists now undertook once more for the languages of Boghaz Keui—a work that is still proceeding, with the happy agreement of Assyriologists of all schools. Very soon the texts revealed that at Boghaz Keui we had lighted on the very capital of the empire of the Hittites, the city itself being named *Hatti*. When the philological analysis was a little more advanced it was found that the tablets gave us not one new language but several, and two principal ones in particular which the texts themselves called *Hatti-li* and *Nasi-li*. Of these two languages *Nasi-li* is Indo-European and *Hatti-li* a quite different tongue unrelated to anything known elsewhere. In these circumstances, therefore, the latter must obviously be the language, or one of the languages, spoken in the Asia Minor massif before the coming of the Indo-Europeans. And the languages of these two groups were now made accessible to us. The elucidation of the Indo-European language and its texts was naturally much easier than that of the other tongue, which is still being studied, but in this direction also all the progress is on the right lines.

On reaching the great peninsula the Indo-Europeans completely covered it. There are many evidences of their presence, as we shall see in due course, not only

in the eastern half (Boghaz Keui), but also in the west and on the south coast where the early Achæans later had their empire, which we shall have to study. To confine ourselves first to the dominions and the states of which Boghaz Keui formed the centre, the texts just mentioned provide us not indeed with their entire history, but with long periods of it, from the beginning down to Egyptian times—the great period of the Ramseses and a little further, the threshold of the twelfth century. The origin and foundation by the newcomers of the Hittite power took place immediately after the year 2000. The course of events was not as simple as it seemed a few years ago, and even the meanings of the names are not so simple as might be thought. Thus “Hittite” was not originally the name of the conquerors. We have seen that of the two chief languages revealed by the texts the *Nasi-li* or “Nesite” is Indo-European while the *Hatti-li* or “Hittite” is the older native tongue. It follows from this that *Hatti* was an old native name of the country and its people.<sup>1</sup> The conquerors found the name on their arrival and gave to the capital the name *Hattushash* or “city of the Hatti” in their own tongue (with the *-ash* termination of origin, the Indo-European ethnic suffix already noticed in connexion with Kassite names). The newcomers called themselves *Luites* and *Nesites* from the names of two cities, *Luya* and *Nesas*, where they had first halted (the second name showing the same termination of origin). And *Nesite*, as we have said, was the most important of the new languages.

The double *-ash* suffix in *Hattushash* is an instance of a phenomenon that is common in many names of cities

<sup>1</sup> Under Naram-sin of Akkad (c. 2450) three kings of Anatolia were in alliance against Akkad: those of *Ganesh*, *Hatti*, and *Burushkhanda* (Delaporte, in *Revue des Études sémitiques*, 1934, fasc. 3-4, p. VI).

and peoples in Asia Minor and even in Europe, and is transliterated as -ασσος in Greek, *e.g.* *Sagalassos* in Phrygia. The root is first given the ethnic -as or -ash, and the name so formed then comes to be treated as a radical form, so that it receives a second time the termination of origin. This suffix, however, is merely the general Indo-European nominative ending in s.

There is yet a fourth name in the Boghaz Keui texts to denote a people or race—the *Hurrites*. This is undoubtedly identical, as we have already remarked, with the native element of the same name in the double name *Hurri-Mitanni* of the Euphratean empire, and it is to be noted also that their name seems to be that of the *Horites* of the Bible. The Biblical *Horites*, recorded in Egyptian geography under the name *Kharu*, were the old population of Palestine before the coming of the Hebrews, and we have explained already (Chapter II) that there has been much discussion as to whether these *Horites* were Semites. This seems quite impossible if we regard them, as indicated above, as the old Anatolian Euphratean stock, the *Hurri*, of a much more extensive area. There is a disposition nowadays to admit that the Biblical *Horites* originated in this old general element of Hither Asia.<sup>1</sup> It will be seen that, according

<sup>1</sup> Dhorme, in *Revue biblique*, pp. 512 ff., and *Syria*, XV (1934), p. 379-388. See earlier *Revue critique*, 1931, p. 484; Hrozný in *Archiv Orientalnj*, III, pp. 285-288; and especially Thureau-Dangin in *Syria*, XII (1931), pp. 249-266. As for Ed. Meyer, he has decided in *Gesch. des Altertums*, I, 2<sup>o</sup> (1909), pp. 599-601; II, 1<sup>o</sup> (1928), p. 6, 3, 88; II, 2<sup>o</sup> (1931), p. 157, while noting the similarity of the names, to separate the *things*, submitting that *Hori-Kharu* is Semitic, but that none the less *Hurri* is an old indigenous Asianic element. Similar to these considerations of Meyer are those of A. Lods, *Israël* (1930), pp. 66-67. The uncertainty that still surrounds this question will be realized, however, on reading Dhorme, *La religion des Hébreux* (1937), pp. 116-119 (citing especially Ginsberg-Maisler in *Journal of the Palestine Oriental Society*), which summarizes up to 1937 the whole of the Hurri-Horite-Kharu question.

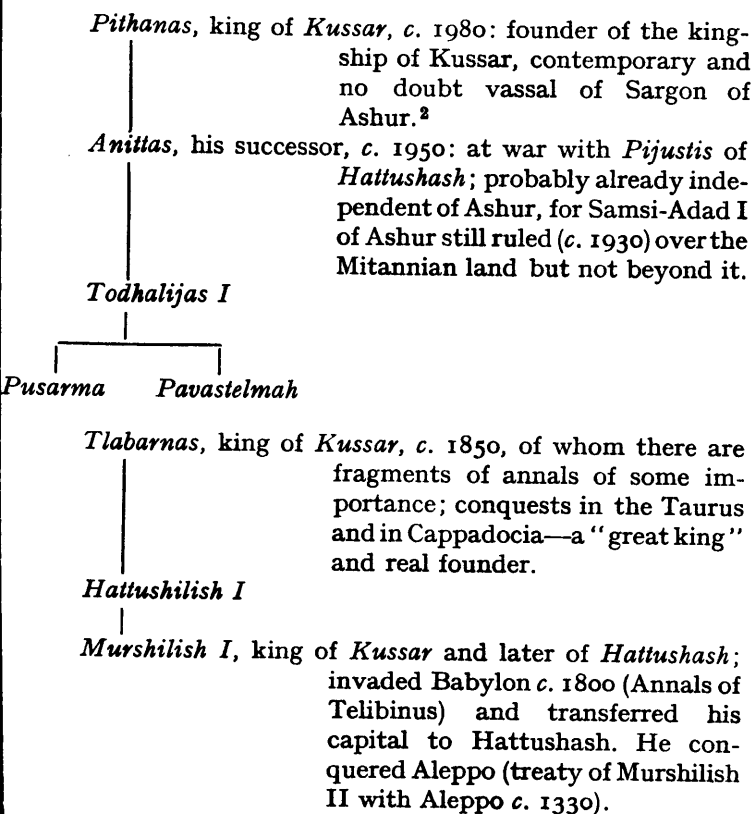
to this, what we find in the Boghaz Keui texts is the Indo-European new-comers under the domination of *Luites* and *Nesites*, and alongside of them the ancient natives of primitive Asianic stock comprising a *Hittite* element and a *Hurrite* element, the latter being known under the same name in Euphratean Mitanni and doubtless also in Syro-Palestine.

If these identities are correct a most interesting light is cast on some of the ethnological facts in the Bible in regard to the Palestine of the early period, where the Israelites were acquainted not only with the *Horites*, who are catalogued separately, but with a number of tribes and races, including the *Hittites*. It is easier now to understand that all these peoples were the same as their namesakes of Asia Minor than it was when the coincidence of names occurred in the case of the Hittites alone. It is very interesting, too, that these pre-Israelites of Palestine—who were not Canaanites—were, to judge by their names, precisely the two principal pre-Indo-European races occupying the great continental area to the north, *viz.* the Hittites, Asianics properly so-called, and the *Horites*, who very probably represent the *Hurrites* of the great Asianic realm, according to the preceding argument.

The manner in which the term "Hittite" was given to the newly conquered empire, whereas the name had previously denoted the ancient native element, is extremely simple: an important city of the Hatti, which the conquerors had named *Hattushash*, still kept this name when it became the capital of the whole people and empire, and the State was quite naturally given the name of this capital, chiefly by foreigners who looked at things from outside, as, for instance, by the Egyptians of the Ramses period.

We will note the principal circumstances in regard to the events and chronology of this period of settlement during the first centuries of the second millennium.

At the earliest stage of the immigration several Indo-European kingdoms, in conflict with each other, were established in different cities: *Nesas*, *Zalpuwas*, *Kussar*, *Hattushash*, etc. The historical outline appears as follows:<sup>1</sup>



<sup>1</sup> The complete list of kings will be found in Sayce, *Early Hittite Records*, in *Ancient Egypt*, 1923, pp. 98 ff.

<sup>2</sup> According to a tablet in the Louvre Pithanas and his successor Anittas were contemporaries of Sargon I of Ashur, between 2000 and

After the assassination of Murshilish there followed a period of disorder lasting for three or four generations, during which the names of the kings are known. We then come to:

*Telibinus*, king of *Hattushash*, c. 1700: he relates in a great historical inscription that his great-grandfather Murshilish had "conquered and plundered Babel," which, in view of the extremely probable agreement of this event with the downfall of the Amorite dynasty of Babylon, *fixes the date of Murshilish* as given above.

After *Telibinus* there is a gap in the Boghaz Keui documents covering a period of about two centuries, so that we do not again pick up the thread of events till *Todhalijas II* in 1480, a definite date after which the history is quite unquestionable. It is this gap beyond 1480 that compels resort to synchronism with the Assyrians of the twentieth century and the Babylonian event of 1805 in order to fix the absolute chronology of ancient times.

On their first arrival the Indo-Europeans had come from a vast cold region of rudimentary civilization and were primarily nomadic farmers. They made fabrics, they knew how to treat skins and baked clay, they had carts and domestic animals, and they introduced the horse, which was entirely unknown to the eastern world before their coming. It is remarkable that in Babylonia the Code of Hammurabi (c. 1950) still makes no mention

1950, which determines the chronological position of the head of our list (see Dhorme on Contenau, *Hittites et Mitanniens*, in *Syria*, XV (1934), p. 379).



of the horse, speaking only of oxen and asses in all matters relating to cultivation and to animals, and before this, among the Sumerians, the chariot of *Gudea* (c. 2350) was drawn by asses, just as four centuries earlier at Ur we find only asses represented as draught animals. In Egypt, similarly, the horse does not appear until the time of the New Empire.

The pre-Indo-European Asianic *Hittites*, known to Biblical writers in southern Palestine, have shown us that at a very early date there were interchanges, displacements, and admixtures of populations between Syro-Palestine and Asia Minor (recalling in similar circumstances the Semitic colonies set up in Cappadocia about the twentieth century). It is quite natural that after the beginning of the Indo-European period, after 2000, such movements and migrations were accomplished just as easily, and it is understandable that Indo-European intrusions from north to south affected Syro-Palestine and led to settlements as far as the extreme south. This penetration of Syro-Palestine was, moreover, parallel to the great Indo-European arrival on the middle Euphrates—that of the Mitannians—and the two invasions were very probably connected with each other. The presence of an important Indo-European element in Syro-Palestine is made entirely clear by the documents relating to this country which we shall find in Egypt, in the first period of the New Empire, the fifteenth and fourteenth centuries, and the information they provide is of capital importance for our purpose. It should be explicitly stated that these documents dating from after the year 1500 are undoubtedly valid for a period appreciably earlier.

But in Egypt itself we find evidence of yet other movements of peoples—migrations and invasions carried out in the early centuries of the millennium not by Indo-Europeans but by peoples who were quite obviously pure Semites from Asia. Now these Asiatics who thus entered Egypt after the year 2000, and perhaps after 1900, as we shall see—were they driven forward by the Indo-European wave that broke from the north as far as Palestine, undoubtedly at this very time? We may believe that they were. We shall see these events in Egypt during the three centuries from about 1800 to 1500, and for another century or two after 1500 it is always in the treasury of Egyptian records that we shall find our richest sources of information about the condition and the history of Euphrateo-Mediterranean Asia.

## CHAPTER VIII

### EGYPT, SYRO-PALESTINE, MITANNI, AND THE HITTITES, FROM THE MIDDLE EMPIRE TO THE MIDDLE OF THE FOURTEENTH CENTURY

#### A. THE "HYKSOS" IN EGYPT

THE best-known period of the Egyptian Middle Empire is that of the XIIth dynasty of the traditional classification, that group of kings all named *Amenemhet* or *Senusret*, the leading figures in a growth of power and glory that extended from 2000 to 1790. At the latter date the Empire fell to pieces, worn out by a cause which recurred at long intervals in Egyptian history. This was the weakening of the central power, which was gradually replaced by the organizations of a confused and changing sectionalism, the land being split up between local rival kingships, at war with one another, until one of them obtained predominance and imposed its authority first over part of the country and then over the whole, after a great concluding war. It was invariably in this way that national crises were resolved in Egypt, and on this occasion as on others the restoration of unity, brought about in this case by the Thebans, resulted in the great kingship of the New Empire, commencing with the XVIIIth dynasty and the coming of *Amosis*, about the year 1580.

The intervening period had lasted rather more than two centuries: this chronology is quite certain now, and the confused history of the period is beginning to be disentangled. Greek tradition, to which we owe the

division of the historical drama into 'dynasties,' has also provided the foundations—for a long time the only ones—of our early Egyptian chronology, now superseded, which assigned a duration of about 1600 years to this intermediate period instead of the 200 which we now know to be the right figure. In the same way the Greeks pushed further back the date of the XIIth dynasty and the earlier period as far back as Menes, who was placed at about 4500. In the long period of time thus filled in the list by all the dynasties numbered from the XIIIth to the XVIIth, Greek tradition gave an important place to the story of an Asiatic invasion by way of the Isthmus, which was said to have destroyed the power of the Pharaohs, replacing it by the domination of the kings of the invaders. The mind of the nation claimed to retain hateful memories of this domination, which is quite natural since the expulsion of these barbarians was precisely the principal achievement of the Theban kings who founded the New Empire, the triumphant originators of the XVIIIth dynasty. In the corresponding chronological list these Asiatics covered a thousand years: the XVth dynasty of the invaders, the XVIth still Asiatic, and the XVIIth mixed, with foreign kings and native ones reigning at the same time over the two halves of Egypt. The Asiatics, whose invasion was thus described, were imagined and represented as a nomadic people, so that in the Greek story their kings are called *Hyksos* kings, meaning, as the writer himself explains, *Shepherd* kings. His list gives in detail the names of the Shepherd kings of the XVth dynasty, six in number, and among them we find two named *Apophis* and one *Iannas*, whose names have been rediscovered, thus confirming their existence, on hieroglyphic monuments of their

reigns in Egypt: their inscriptions call them *Apopi* and *Khajan*.

As a matter of fact there appear in this history of the *Hyksos* of Greek tradition, alongside of the legendary story and the inadmissible chronology, remarkable traces of authentic historical fact. We know from the monuments between the XIIth and the XVIIIth dynasties of the presence in Egypt, especially Lower Egypt, of an important Asiatic element whose introduction and development were encouraged by the weakness of a disorganized Egypt during those two centuries. This foreign intrusion is shown in the earlier period by the small monuments, *scarabs* and others, of a very large number of minor princes with Asiatic names, sheikhs or tribal chiefs established in Egypt and assuming royal rank and Pharaonic titles, all at the same time, no doubt, and each in his own city. This was chiefly the case in the north, while in the south, at Thebes, the native kingships remained, and it was around them that the restoration was to take place later on. In the later period these barbarians did not actually become Pharaohs of the whole of Egypt, but in northern Egypt we see the birth of a dynasty of which some of the kings have native names, such as the *Apopi*, while others are foreigners, *e.g.* *Khajan*—the very names, it will be seen, that are characteristic of the “Hyksos” of the XVth dynasty in the Greek list. It is quite clear from their monuments, which are unassuming but extremely orthodox, that these foreigners at the time of their accession to a provincial pharaohship in the Delta were thoroughly naturalized and carried out their duties as well as they could. And it is this strange mixture in northern Egypt, a kingship half native and half Asiatic, surrounded and submerged by an incredible

swarm of more or less independent local princelings with Asiatic names—it is this extremely subdivided and somewhat anarchic world that was to be swept away a little later by the Theban reconquest on the eve of the XVIIIth dynasty. Such, in very brief summary, are the main lines of the actual story.

These Asiatic princes were undoubtedly Canaanites, despite the fact that because of their names there has been much discussion as to their origin, and particularly about the name *Khajan*, which was thought first to be Asianic and then Indo-European. From the historical standpoint such origins would be possible in Syro-Palestine as early as 1700, but latest developments appear to show that the *Khajan* in question is Semitic.<sup>1</sup> Most of the other names are markedly Semitic, first and foremost that of *Jacob*, which in hieroglyphics is *Iakeb* or *Iakeb-el* in compound form after the manner of onomastic Hebrew. The origin of such a name is clear, and it is very interesting to find it again in Asia itself a century or two after the “Hyksos” period, in the middle of the New Empire. The document containing it is the *Annals* of the great Pharaoh Thutmose III, of the XVIIIth dynasty, who conquered Palestine and southern Syria about 1480 and has left us a list of the peoples he met and overcame, a picture of the Canaan of that period. A list of the same kind is that of Ramses II, c. 1300, and in these long lists of names appears *Jacob*, or *Jacob-El* again. Moreover, under the XIIth dynasty, c. 1900, in other lists of the peoples of Asia compiled for different purposes we meet with a people called *Joseph*. These were settled Canaanite tribes. Consequently, to find the name Jacob in about 1700 or 1600 among the *Hyksos* princes in Egypt

<sup>1</sup> See Dussaud, in *R.H.R.*, CIX (1934), p. 116, n. 2.

reveals a quite natural agreement and proves definitely that in the Asiatic wave that covered Lower Egypt before the restoration of the New Empire there were at all events some elements that were strictly Canaanite. We can, it seems, make the wider assumption that the *Hyksos* occupants were Canaanites, subject only to the reservation that in the Semitic mass thus revealed there may have been heterogeneous elements.

We must be careful, however, not to confuse this *Jacob* and this *Joseph*, who were princes in Egypt in 1800 or 1700 and actual Canaanite tribes in about 1900, 1500, and 1300, with the Jacob and Joseph of Israelite tradition, where they figure among the *Patriarchs*. We must not, at all events, confuse them historically. For it appears on careful consideration that this historical Jacob and Joseph of pre-Israelite Canaan are at the root of the Biblical legend of the *Patriarchs*. Nowadays this legend is clearly explained. The Israelites arrived in Palestine and eventually settled there, perhaps about the eleventh century. When the legend of their national origins began to be formulated and set in order it came about that stories were incorporated in it with the twofold object of securing possession of the ancient native sanctuaries for the national god, and of giving some kind of legal sanction to the possession of land acquired by force, and the *Patriarchs* were conceived for this double purpose. They were ancestors of the people, supposed to have lived several centuries before the conquest and to have been already dwelling in Palestine. The actual conquerors found in the cities of that land immemorial sanctuaries of very great influence—Bethel, Hebron, Shechem, Beersheba, etc. It will be understood that according to the national theory it was the *Patriarchs* Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, and Joseph who

revealed and conquered the gods of these places and founded the sanctuaries which would thenceforth be completely Israelite, their local gods becoming identified with the national god of Israel. At the same time these ancestors of the people would be credited with having made treaties with the Canaanites for possession and residence, unless they had had the glory of being promised the possession of the land for their descendants by the national god himself at the beginning.

All this formulation of legends is to be dated between 1200 and 1100—the earliest compilations made in Israel are not earlier than 800—and its mechanism is, on the whole, very simple. The important point that interests us here is that *the names of the Patriarchs are not Israelite*, since *Jacob* and *Joseph* are met with long before the presence of Israel in Palestine as the names of peoples in Canaan about 1500 and even 1900, and it appears from the presence of *Jacob* in Egypt around 1700 that these names must have been fairly common in the Canaanite world through the whole of that period. Consequently it is easy to explain how the Israelites constructed their story. If Jacob, the ancestor of Israel, revealed the god of Bethel and founded the sanctuary there, the reason undoubtedly is that before the coming of the Israelites the hero-founder in the local Canaanite legend of Bethel was a certain Jacob, whose name and legend were appropriated by the new-comers, who made him an ancestor of the people at the same time as they legitimatized the sanctuary for their own god. The same thing would happen in the case of other sanctuaries in the conquered land and all the other “Patriarchs.” Among them was *Abraham*, who in the Israelite genealogy was the father of all the Hebrews (of whom Israel was only one small part) and therefore



the representative of the entire *Aramaean* race. This legendary figure, as is well known, grew to enormous proportions, but its still recognizable nucleus is the simple figure of the hero-founder of the ancient Canaanite religious site of Hebron. It is of great interest to note that this same Abraham or his equivalent, called "Sib'ani, son of Terah," appeared, as we have already seen, as founder and inaugurator of worship in Palestine, in a legend of Phœnician tradition and compilation, in no way Israelite, and compiled, moreover, in the fourteenth or even the fifteenth century.

The story of *Joseph*, a Canaanite people of about 1900 transformed by the Israelites into a "Patriarch," can be reconstructed as follows. In the early form of the Biblical tradition he was the founder of the sanctuary of Shechem, although later on his name was replaced by that of Jacob. This was because the separation of Joseph from Shechem became necessary when the literary compilations required him for another and more important role—that of principal hero of the story of *the sojourn of Israel in Egypt*, which modern criticism calls "the romance of Joseph." This is in reality an entirely artificial literary composition, clever and coherent, constructed for the story-teller's purposes, which are very curious and fairly easy to disentangle. When the compilers gathered together (between about 900 and 800) the traditions of ancient times and set to work to arrange the story, they had to relate the actual conquest of Palestine, around 1200, and to take into consideration also the Patriarchs, whose legend was already well established and who must have lived in Palestine at an earlier period. It was, as represented by these ancestors, a first sojourn in Palestine, earlier than the historical conquest. Since the Israelites had

been in the country at this early period and had long afterwards come out from the desert to conquer it (in reality, this time), then in the interval they must have *gone out of Palestine*, so as to be able, in a reasonable story, to re-enter it. This departure, this necessary absence from Palestine, was brought about in the final arrangement of the compilation in the eighth century by the *romance of Joseph*, the last of the Patriarchs, who was sold into Egypt, became a prince in the land of the Pharaoh, and brought into Egypt all his people, who were at a later date to go out into the desert whence the actual conquest did really start.

But there may be something more in this romantic figure of Joseph. The gifted and extraordinary writer who compiled this part of the book was thoroughly conversant with Egyptian affairs—we have proof of this—and he may also have had positive knowledge derived from Egyptian documents that there had been in Egypt, at a certain period, ruling princes named Jacob, *Khajan*, and perhaps also Joseph. So the gorgeous and mighty Joseph, the minister of Pharaoh, may have been created out of data of this kind.

Returning from this digression to the intrusion of the “Hyksos” into Egypt after the Middle Empire, among whom we shall at all events meet some *Jacobs* who from their names were Canaanites, a final question remains to be asked. Was the entry of these Syro-Palestinians into Egypt connected in any way with the entry of the Hebrews into Palestine and southern Syria? Dates and events seem at first sight to make this possible, as the Hebrews were a much larger and more general unit than the Israelites, and, broadly speaking, much more ancient. The Biblical narrative enables us to establish a very approximate chronology

of the coming of the Hebrews. Whereas Egypt was a late-comer, a rearguard, the vanguard was represented by Edom, who occupied the Seir, *i.e.* the southern Palestinian steppe, which Israel was to conquer later on. Now the Biblical genealogies, immediately after this list of the *Horite* (not Hebrew) peoples of the Seir who preceded the coming of the Edomites—we have already mentioned the document and the information provided by it—record a list of the Edomite kings who *reigned in the land before the kings of Israel*, which means, no doubt, before David. And as this list includes eight names, and as David reigned about the year 1000, this puts the commencement of the Edomite kingship at about the thirteenth century. Before this, the date of the foundation of their kingship, if we give the Edomites two or three centuries for the building-up of the nation—which is quite sufficient—we get without any improbability the sixteenth century for the arrival and settlement of the Edomites in the Seir. It may then be presumed, without any further improbability, that the Palestinians who entered Egypt to become the “Hyksos” in the course of the seventeenth century were swept forward by the pressure of the forerunners of the Hebrews, Edomites or others, who went out from the recesses of the southern desert.

This association of events—a theory put forward by I. Lévy in 1905—is extremely ingenious and attractive, but has lost weight during the last four or five years, as Egyptological documents have led us to the discovery that the arrival in Egypt between the XIIth and the XVIIIth dynasties of the Asiatics who are the traditional “Hyksos” really began earlier, during the course of the XIIth dynasty. In fact, among the many small monuments of the Asiatic group in Egypt—Egyptians

or "Egyptizers"—there are many that bear the names of the great kings of the XIIth dynasty itself, and there seems every likelihood that these monuments belong to the actual period of the Pharaohs whose names they bear. But others of these little monuments bear Semitic names and are typically of the XIIth dynasty in style.

There are, therefore, strong indications that the important Asiatic migrations between the XIIth and the XVIIIth dynasties, *i.e.* round about 1700 and later, started long before in the form of a thrust, a peaceful and unresisted infiltration, in the chief reigns of the XIIth dynasty, perhaps from the middle of the dynasty, about the year 1900. Now this date is much too early for us to see any connexion between the Asiatic thrust on the Isthmus frontier and the first Hebrew arrivals in southern Palestine, which were certainly not earlier than the sixteenth century. The immigration of the first centuries of the millennium, the infiltration before 1800, during the XIIth dynasty, and the submerging of the Delta by local domination during the later period of disorder—these things proceeded from other causes, among which were perhaps the forward thrust and disturbance caused by the descent of the Indo-Europeans on Syro-Palestine as far as its southern frontiers, after the beginning of the second millennium. It should be carefully noted that we have no positive evidence of the presence of Indo-Europeans in Syro-Palestine itself until after 1500, but the blame for this rests upon the scantiness of our information. As for the period following 1500, the facts available to us about Asiatic conditions and events are still those found in Egypt during this period of the New Empire—a happy period for the historian.

B. EGYPT, SYRO-PALESTINE, MITANNI, AND  
THE HITTITES (1500-1350)

The imperial restorers of the XVIIIth dynasty began the conquest of Asia at the beginning of the period. Amosis penetrated into Palestine and Phœnicia, and Thutmose I pushed as far as the Euphrates (*c.* 1525), but this first conquest was without solid foundations. It was recommenced and brought to a successful issue by Thutmose III (1501-1447), who for the first time organized the Egyptian empire in Asia, comprising the whole of Palestine and Syria, with Phœnicia in the middle, marching with Mitanni on the Euphrates and the Hittite empire in the north.

It is interesting to summarize the course of events in Asia which resulted, at the end of the reign of Thutmose III, in this state of equilibrium.

The annals of Boghaz Keui, after the documentary gap that extends from 1700 to 1480, emerge from the shadows at this latter date with the reign of Todhaliyas II. It was at this point that the clash occurred between the Hittite empire and the growing Mitannian power, in and for the possession of Upper Syria, where there had existed since its far-off beginnings a kingdom of Aleppo. The facts are made known to us by the Hittite annals of a much later date—the treaty of Murshilish II with the king of Aleppo, *c.* 1330. This states that Hattushilish I (before 1800) had been “on good terms with Aleppo,” and that later his son Murshilish I had “annihilated the kingdom and country of Aleppo,” *i.e.* had conquered it. (This episode is undoubtedly connected with the great Hittite enterprise against Babylon, *c.* 1800, which is known to us from the annals of Telibinus, *c.* 1700.) The document

goes on to say that still later, in the time of Todhalijas II (1480), Aleppo had "joined" Mitanni—a euphemism for the conquest of the country by Mitanni, which thus inaugurated its period of power—and that Todhalijas had then set out on a warlike expedition, "exterminating the kings of Hanigalbat and Aleppo and ravaging Aleppo," but no doubt without any lasting success, for the document goes on to say that the king of Aleppo had always continued to "participate in the misdeeds of the king of Hanigalbat," notably against Hattushilish, about 1430.

It follows from this account, covering more than four centuries of history, that Aleppo was annexed and remained a more or less complete vassal of the Hittites until after 1500, and that there was then a Mitannian advance and conquest to which the Hatti at length succumbed. But at the time when Murshilish II related these earlier incidents and negotiated with Aleppo, in 1330, this Mitannian power of the fifteenth century had already completely collapsed.

With regard to the course of events in Mitanni during the same period, we still obtain our information from the Hittite records, and especially the important treaty made by *Shubbiluliuma* with *Mattiuaza* of Mitanni (c. 1360). This states that *Tushratta* of Mitanni (c. 1380, according to the Egyptian synchronisms given below) was the great-grandson of *Shaushshatar*, which places the latter at about 1470, or just at the time of the victorious advance of Mitanni against Aleppo. We learn elsewhere that this *Shaushshatar* was the founder of Mitannian power, so it may be inferred that it was he who was at war with Todhalijas II and brought about the real annexation of Aleppo.

This action on the part of Mitanni took place, it will

be seen, in the very middle of the reign of Thutmose III, most probably before the great Egyptian offensive against Asia. According to the great *Annals* of Thutmose III, his first campaign was undertaken in the twenty-third year of his reign (c. 1477) and later ones between the twenty-third and the forty-second year (c. 1459). At the beginning of the period the whole of Phoenicia submitted without much resistance, although it was necessary to take Simyra and Arvad by assault. In the thirty-third year (c. 1467) Syria was completely subdued and the Egyptians attacked Mitanni and held the course of the Euphrates without difficulty. This general submission was greeted, as it were, by the homage of the king of Babylon (*Sangar*, according to the Egyptians) and the unnamed king of the Hittites, who was undoubtedly Todhalijas II. There is every reason to suppose that this latter king had taken advantage of the circumstances to make his temporarily successful attack on Mitanni, but, as we already know, in this region Mitanni was to have the last word. Mitanni also offered strong resistance to Egypt during the thirty-fifth and forty-second years of Thutmose III, but each of these attempts was easily repulsed and after the last one her submission was definite and complete.

We have knowledge after this period of the great Egyptian settlement at *Beisan* (the Biblical Beth-shan) at the point on the Jordan where the road from Carmel and Megiddo reaches it, and we can guess that this place, perhaps held by the Egyptians from very early times, was their residential capital, with similar functions to those of Byblus on the coast. Scarabs bearing the names of Thutmose III have been found in the temple there. It may be also, in view of the Hittite story that Mitanni kept Aleppo, that there was some

arrangement between Thutmose and Shaushshatar by which Mitanni was left in possession of northern Syria.

For some fifty years after Thutmose III there was a great peace in the East. Egyptian rule stopped at the Euphrates on the frontier of the Mitannian empire, and the Hittite empire, somewhat weakened, was driven out of northern Syria and peaceful in Asia Minor.

Here is the synchronism of the reigns of the three empires between 1501 and 1344, *i.e.* to the end of the XVIIIth Egyptian dynasty (we omit the contemporary kings of Babylon and Ashur):

EGYPT	HATTI	MITANNI <sup>1</sup>
.....1501		
Thutmose III	1480..... Todhalijas II	1475.....
.....1447	1460..... Arnuwandash I	Shaushshatar
Amenhotep II	1435.....	? .....
.....1420		
Thutmose IV	Hattushilish II	Artatama
.....1411	1410..... Todhalijas III	1400.....
Amenhotep III	1390.....	Shuttarna
	Arnuwandash II	
.....1370	1380.....	1380..... Artashumara, Tushratta, & others
Amenhotep IV	Shubbiluliuma	
.....1354	1345..... Arnuwandash III	1360.....
Tutenkhamon, Eye, etc.	1344..... Murshilish II	Mattiuaza
.....1344		
Harmhab (Horemheb)		

<sup>1</sup> Chronological table for *Mitanni* drawn up by Winckler, in Knudtzon, *El-Amarna Tafeln*, p. 1041.



The *great peace* remained unbroken till the reign of Amenhotep III, certainly till after 1400. The submission of Palestine and Syro-Phœnicia to Egypt was complete and without incidents. But none the less difficulties were beginning for the Egyptians in Asia in the reign of Amenhotep III, and continued under Amenhotep IV. There were wars between the city dynasts, vassals of the Pharaohs, when they were left to themselves, and manifold disturbances caused in particular by the presence in the country of threatening foreign intruders which we shall have to consider more carefully. We see also repeated attempts to appeal to the authority of the Pharaoh without his taking the trouble to intervene. Under Amenhotep III, whose reign was the heyday of the XVIIIth dynasty, we are conscious already of some of those defects in the imperial organization which were to bring about the downfall of the family after 1350 and to necessitate the thoroughgoing restoration of the XIXth dynasty. It is clear that the luxurious and careless government of Amenhotep III was a source of great danger in protected regions, favouring attempts at rebellion, independence, or merely disorder, and disappointing to loyal vassals who received little or no help when they asked for it. Then the evil grew greater and more marked. Syria was to become more and more free from Egyptian domination, and this was the more serious because there was to take place at the same time that profound development of the international situation that was caused by the renaissance of the Hittite power under the great Shubbiluliuma, whom we shall find declaring war on Tushratta of Mitanni and reconquering northern Syria. This was to be a long attempt, marked by many political vicissitudes and by the increasing absence of

Egypt. In Palestine things were to go just as badly: it may be said that in this country Egyptian rule was to disappear in the course of the thirteen years' reign of Amenhotep IV.

Such in broad outline is the picture that we must examine more closely so as to pick out at least the parts that are most important for our purpose, *viz.* those that concern the region of Phoenicia-Syria-Palestine. Our sources of information for these lands and their peoples are, first, the *Annals of Thutmose III*, where we find a picture of the Asia that had submitted to Egypt, *i.e.* the whole of the area between the Mediterranean and the Euphrates, including a list of 118 names that are useful for ethnological localization and analysis. To this was added about a century later the *Amarna Letters* for the reigns of Amenhotep III and Amenhotep IV. The el-Amarna tablets, written in cuneiform Akkadian after the Babylonian manner, are the diplomatic records of Amenhotep III and his son Amenhotep IV, in whose palace they were found. An important part of these texts consists of the correspondence—both letters received and copies of those sent—between the Pharaonic government and the princes of Asia, including the kings of Babylon, Mitanni, and Ashur. In this correspondence there are mentioned sixty place-names, partly overlapping and partly supplementing the list of Thutmose III.

According to the information derived from these various documents the land was rich and populous, at all events on the coast and its approaches (Phoenicia and the neighbouring area), though the mountainous parts were less so. The mountain massif to the north of Jerusalem was still sparsely peopled, in marked contrast to the situation described in the Bible at the period

of the Israelite settlement two or three centuries later. The principal language of the country was *Canaanite*, i.e. very nearly *Phœnician* or *Hebrew*. But the names show clearly the important elements in the population that had been added to the primitive one, for whereas Phœnicia had always remained Semitic, the interior, i.e. 'hollow' Syria, the great river rift that was to be the route of the Indo-European invasion from the north, was, most probably from the beginning, *Hurrite* (akin to the people of the northern region), and received at the beginning of the Indo-European period a notable proportion of Indo-European Mitannians, together with some purely *Aryan* elements. It is very remarkable that in Palestine there was a mixture in equal parts of Semitic and Hurri-Mitannian peoples.

The records of Tell el-Amarna are also our principal source of information for the course of events during the first half of the fourteenth century in the Syro-Palestinian area and even as far as Babylon and the borders of Asia Minor. Another important historical source is the Hittite records of Boghaz Keui, chiefly the texts of treaties made by the restorer Shubbiluliuma with his vanquished enemies, notably with Mattiuaza of Mitanni in 1360, as well as an important history by Murshilish of the doings of his father Shubbiluliuma, from which it appears that the latter had intervened in the affairs of Egypt on the death of Amenhotep IV—a very remarkable episode to be described later.

The Amarna records, consisting of some 350 letters, reveal an extraordinary mixture of calm and formal ceremony, magnificent and tranquil diplomatic exchanges, and serious documents full of the anxiety that was beginning to disturb Asia in the reign of Amenhotep

III. There are felicitations and trivialities in great quantity. Burna-buriash of Babylon, for instance, expresses to Amenhotep IV his discontent because he has not been asked for news of his illness. In a more serious vein we find recorded information about foreign princesses given in marriage to the Pharaoh: Amenhotep IV is particularly insatiable in this respect, taking first the sister and then the daughter of Kadashman-Kharbe of Babylon, going elsewhere for Gilukhipa, sister of Tushratta of Mitanni (the son of Shuttarna), and then taking Tushratta's daughter Tadukhipa, the sister of Mattiuaza. Before these two Mitannian marriages a daughter of Artatama, as we have seen, had already been given to the Pharaoh of Egypt, Thutmose IV, this Mitannian princess, Mutemuya, being the mother of Amenhotep III. To obtain this princess seven successive requests had been necessary, and it was the same in the case of Gilukhipa afterwards, these repeated requests being no doubt required as a matter of etiquette. Finally, from another quarter, Amenhotep III asked for and obtained a daughter of Tarkhundaraba of Arzawa in Cilicia. And besides these various marriage arrangements all the foreign princes—Babylonian, Hittite, Assyrian, Canaanite—begged for gifts of gold in great quantity, and got them. They criticized the presents with somewhat rude frankness when the quantity or quality of the metal seemed unsatisfactory.

At the same time there are letters from Palestine and Syria that are really serious, alarming, and threatening. Phœnicia bulks large in this correspondence, and a picture of permanent and general insecurity is portrayed for us by Tyre, Byblus, Beirut, and Sidon. There are forty-five letters in the collection from *Rib-Addi* of Byblus to Amenhotep III, and the squabbles of this

Rib-Addi with the local authorities are of great interest. There was a king of Amurru named *Abd-Ashirta*, an extremely dangerous man, who secured the co-operation of the *Barbarians*—very important people whom we shall meet with later—and used them to attack Byblus, which remained faithful to its Egyptian overlord and was a kind of capital of coastal mid-Syria. This *Amurru* (*Amor*), which was independent at the time we are speaking of, was the western or coastal half of Upper Syria, the inland half being Aleppo, which was annexed by Mitanni, as we have seen, to be taken back later at the Hittite renaissance. For the time being, therefore, Abd-Ashirta of Amurru was the chief enemy. He had as allies in Phœnicia itself *Zimrida* of Sidon and the king of Beirut, these circumstances being confirmed by a letter from *Abimilki* of Tyre. But this did not prevent *Zimrida*, whose letters we also have, from sending admirable protestations of loyalty to the Egyptian authorities and actually demanding help and protection against these “Barbarians” whom he was recruiting and employing. This rather tragic comedy went on for two or three years until Rib-Addi threatened, if he did not receive help, to give up all resistance or go over to the enemy. This time the king of Egypt decided to send a small army which restored order, though not for long. The hostile confederation directed and maintained by Amurru included not only Sidon but Aradus (*Arvad*), much nearer to the great centre in the north. Rib-Addi was besieged in Byblus (he complains in one letter that the Egyptian governor is looking on with complete indifference at the preparations for a disaster) while *Zimrida* of Sidon was besieging Tyre. The hostile alliance made progress to the south, in central Syria. The movement did not end with the death of

Abd-Ashirta, his place being taken by his son Aziru, who captured Damascus.

At this point, still in the reign of Amenhotep III, the Hittite empire reappeared on the scene with Shubbiluliuma and his great enterprise against the East. He had already attacked Tushratta, as we have seen, and the Mitannians had lost the kingdom of Aleppo. The Hittite had also received the homage and alliance of Aziru, thus re-establishing his power in south-east Asia Minor and northern Syria. Mitanni henceforth saw itself compelled to retreat without appreciable resistance, acknowledging the whole of the Hittite settlement in northern Syria—Amurru and Aleppo. The extent of the Mitannian withdrawal is clearly shown by a comparison with the situation round about 1400, when we know that Mitannian authority still extended as far as Qatna and the Orontes: we have three letters at Amarna from King Aki-izzi of Qatna, denouncing the help given by Hatti to certain cities which had taken an oath to Mitanni but had seceded and revolted<sup>1</sup> while Aki-izzi himself resisted Hatti by force of arms.

A very remarkable feature of the new situation created by the victorious Hittite advance is that the Hittite emperor remained on excellent terms with Amenhotep III. We come to the conclusion that in actual fact Egypt since the time of Thutmose III had ceased to lay claim to this northern Syria, the Euphrates and Aleppo frontier being left once and for all to Mitanni. Then the fortunes of Mitanni had changed, and at the point we have now reached the Hittites were installed as masters in these same borders of Upper Syria, but Egypt remained uninterested.

<sup>1</sup> For the succession of events in regard to Qatna, see du Mesnil du Buisson, *Fouilles de Qatna* (1936), pp. 18, 31 f.

The next great event was the death of Amenhotep III. His son Amenhotep IV succeeded him and received the orthodox form of greeting from Mitanni as well as from Hatti. Towards Asiatic affairs he maintained the same attitude of indifference and systematic aloofness as his father. Rib-Addi of Byblus, always faithful to Egypt and subjected to pressure from the people of Amurru and Aleppo who were vassals of the Hittites, was in a position of increasing difficulty, and eventually took to flight, leaving his city and his family in the hands of his enemies. In the north, however, Hittite rule was not established without difficulties and strife. Aziru, the vassal of Shubbiluliuma, wished to recover his independence. The Hittites prepared the necessary expedition to suppress him, and Aziru, thus threatened, made his peace with Amenhotep IV, who accepted his submission and sent his messengers back with orders to stiffen resistance to the Hittites in the name of the Egyptian power. It could have been foreseen that the disastrous inaction of Egypt would cause the task imposed upon the Amorites to be beyond their powers, and that is exactly what happened. Generally speaking it is clear that in the reign of Amenhotep IV and even in southern Palestine Egyptian rule was no longer a reality.

The little that remained of this rule in Middle Syria was gravely threatened by the Hittite advance, which seemed to be the commencement of the conquest of the whole of Hither Asia. At the beginning, however, the peril remained uncertain. Shubbiluliuma, always prudent and sensible, was patient with Amurru, wishing to settle first with Mitanni, which had tried to resist. This attempt met with no success, however, and Mitanni remained the more oppressed by adverse circumstances

because new partners and rivals were making their appearance in the main theatre of war.

There are strong indications that the very youthful Assyria, a vassal of Mitanni in the days of Shaushshatar and Thutmose III (1460), had regained its independence, for there are letters in the Amarna correspondence from *Ashur-nadin-akhi*, who obtained from Amenhotep III a remittance of twenty talents of gold, "the same as that sent to the king of Hanigalbat." Some twenty years later, under Amenhotep IV, c. 1370, *Ashur-uballit* wrote likewise to the king of Egypt, and we have a letter from Burna-buriash of Babylon of the same date complaining of this direct correspondence addressed by Assyria to Egypt without passing through the Babylonian chancellery. This procedure, said Burna-buriash, was inadmissible, considering that Assyria had been, within the memory of the king, a mere vassal of the Babylonian power. But this was only an official pretension: Assyria was in reality independent, and we see Burna-buriash himself, or else his successor Kara-Indash, receiving and taking in marriage a daughter of Ashur-uballit of Ashur, as an equal and an ally.

Such were the new competitors. Events continued to develop: first the war between Shubbiluliuma and Tushratta ended with the occupation of Hurri and the overthrow of Tushratta with the consent and support of the Assyrians who from their side marched against the country. This result being obtained, Shubbiluliuma turned resolutely against Syria, an easy victory over Aziru and his coalition brought Amurru into submission to the Hittites, and the conquest was then continued as far as Kadesh and the borders of Lebanon, the whole proceeding taking a very short time.

Meanwhile the Assyrian invasion had developed



against a Mitanni that had lapsed into disorder after Tushratta's time. His son Mattiuaza fled to Babylon, where the government, very cautious and fond of fishing in troubled waters, prepared to hand him over to the Hittites. Mattiuaza fled and proceeded to throw himself at the feet of Shubbiluliuma himself. This desperate expedient was successful. As a matter of fact other members of the Mitannian royal family, usurpers on various grounds, were at that time working for an understanding with the Assyrians, and there is reason to believe that the Hittite emperor saw clearly the need for preventing Mitanni becoming a vassal of the new power. So he welcomed Mattiuaza, the legitimate heir, adopted him, gave him his daughter in marriage, and organized a campaign to restore him to the throne. There was a battle, followed by a reconquest. In these new circumstances was concluded the famous treaty between Shubbiluliuma and Mattiuaza, setting up a very firm system of suzerainty and vassalage, fixing the frontier at the Euphrates, and, as an extra safeguard, creating a buffer State between Aleppo and Mitanni with Carchemish as its capital.<sup>1</sup>

It remained for the great Hittite-Euphratean power thus established, henceforth without a competitor, to destroy what was left of Egyptian influence in Syria. This influence persisted as far as a part of Coele-Syria round Kadesh. Shubbiluliuma therefore determined to tear away the veil—the diplomatic fiction of friendship with Egypt. He marched against Coele-Syria and took possession of it, thus declaring war on Egypt, which was to be the main feature of international affairs in the following period.

<sup>1</sup> The Hittite text of the treaty is conveniently accessible in Sayce's translation in *Ancient Egypt*, 1925, pp. 97 ff.

## C. THE HABIRU

Before leaving this period, it is necessary to a proper understanding of the history of Syro-Palestine in the fourteenth century of Amenhotep III and IV, to direct our attention to the *barbarians* or *brigands* who infested the country at that time and to whom the Amarna Letters make constant reference.

According to these documents there took place in Canaan an intrusion of foreign, warlike peoples who insinuated themselves by fair means or foul among the peoples and cities. The letters of Rib-Addi of Byblus recur insistently to the danger of their presence and their aggressions, and the princes of many other cities wrote in a similar strain.

These invaders were called *Habiru*, the reading of the name, which presents a difficult problem in Akkadian cuneiform, being confirmed by a reference to the same people in the Boghaz Keui documents. They do not, however, appear in quite the same guise in the land of Hatti as at Amarna. In Syro-Palestine they were formidable men of war, generally dreaded by the letter-writer, who complains to the king of Egypt that they have taken some neighbouring city and are threatening him, or else that they have made common cause with some hostile king in the vicinity, or, again, that such-and-such a near-by enemy has taken them into his service. We thus get a clear picture of the procedure of these intruding "barbarians"—obtaining concessions by force, serving as mercenaries when needed, and as conquerors when absolutely necessary. Their name appears to be connected with an old Semitic root meaning *attached*, *contracting*, *i.e. mercenary* or *confederate*, perhaps *associated*—exactly what the

Greco-Roman world was to understand by *barbarians*. In Hatti, where in some writings appear "the gods of the Habiru," the people thus designated are of a different kind. They are established sedentaries, one element of the population like the others, undoubtedly the same immigrants as in the Canaanite land, but arriving long before and becoming settled. There is mention in Hatti also of certain personages called "So-and-so the Habiru," the title appearing to represent a kind of feudal rank. This same appellation, with the same meaning, is met with also in Babylonia proper in the second half of the millenium, particularly around 1400, and later, about 1080.

For the earlier period, however, Mesopotamia has just furnished us with a reference to these Habiru that is the earliest of all in date and throws a clear light on their condition and the whole of their history. In the epistolary records of *Mari* on the Euphrates (Upper Mesopotamia) of the time of King Zimrilim, a contemporary of Hammurabi of Babylon, say between 2000 and 1950, we find complaints by certain correspondents of the danger incurred by the cities from the barbarian peoples or bands of intruders called *Habiru*, *Rabbu*, *Bene-iamina*, and *Bene-Simal*.<sup>1</sup> It seems clear that immediately after 2000 these Habiru appeared on the Aramæan Euphrates in the very role in which we find them five centuries later in Syro-Palestine. Considering, therefore, that they spread from east to west, and that in Mesopotamia itself we find that their procedure and social position changed between 1900 and 1400, we reach the conclusion that we are dealing with barbarians who gradually became settled and 'classed' during a very extended period.

<sup>1</sup> Dossin, *Les archives épistolaires de Mari, in Syria*, XIX (1938), pp. 105-126: see p. 116. Cf. C. F. Jean in *Revue des Études sémitiques*, 1938, p. 132.

How much do we know at present of the ethnography and origin of these people? We get some enlightenment from the fact that this great stratum of nomadic invaders is described in some Assyrian writings about the year 1320 as people of *Akh lame* and *Suti*, for we know from later texts that the *Akh lamu* were the same as the Aramæans. At this point we enter the region of what is known, for the Aramæans, according to Biblical facts and genealogies, were closely related to Israel, or, more precisely, Israel was a branch of the great Aramæan family: Abraham was born at Harran, and we know the very ancient sacrificial formula preserved in Deuteronomy xxvi. 5: "A wandering Aramean was my father" (R.V. marg.).

Now Israel, a small clan of the great Aramæan family, was also one clan among many others in the great family of the *Hebrews* (*Ibri*, plur. *Ibrim*), on which point the genealogical facts are quite clear: in Genesis x. 21, we have "Shem also, the father of all the children of *Eber*" (see also vv. 22-24). In the Israelite story of the Canaanite wars later on (Joshua, Saul, etc.) the name *Hebrew* often appears, and in such circumstances as to denote a whole of which Israel was only a part, while other clans, friends and enemies of Israel were also called *Hebrews*. It is noticeable besides that in the Biblical account this name *Hebrew* is applied to the people of Israel only when it is non-Israelites who are speaking. We shall not dwell here on this very remarkable point, but confine ourselves to the fact that *Aramæans* and *Hebrews*, according to the preceding argument, were the same unit. And then the *Habiru* of all the cuneiform texts are also this same people, provided only that the words *Ibri* in the Bible and *Habiru* in the cuneiform writings are one and the same

vocable. After long years of discussion this identity of the vocables is to-day regarded as certain.<sup>1</sup> Important results follow from it, both for the Habiru in general and for the history of Israel and the Biblical tradition.

In the first place, *Habiru* and *Aramæans*, very different words, are two names for the same wave of peoples, whom we can very clearly classify, according to what we have seen, as a great new Semitic wave which reached the Babylonia-Syria-Hatti area during several centuries of which the Amarna period marks the middle. What we see next, illuminating the Biblical story, is that the *Hebrews*, of whom the Israelites from the beginning of the historical period knew that they were a clan, had formerly been those conquering barbarians who had come from the desert in about the fifteenth century, and had retained the memory thereof much more than the Israelites themselves.

This throws a flood of light on the history of Israelite origins and makes admirably clear the circumstances of the arrival of the Israelites and their occupation of Palestine between the fourteenth century and the twelfth. For obviously if the Habiru of Amarna were not the Israelites themselves they were their cousins. Among all the other Hebrew clans it was these Amarna Habiru who threatened everything and made themselves a place everywhere, from one end of Syro-Palestine to the other.

Reference should be made at this point to the letters, in the Amarna correspondence, of *Abdi-Khiba*, king of Jerusalem in the days of Amenhotep IV, appealing for

<sup>1</sup> It is still sometimes denied, however, and Dhorme in particular has always refused to accept it: see his *La religion des Hébreux nomades*, 1937, pp. 79-85. For acceptance of the identity *Habiru* = *Hebrew*, see particularly Lods, *Israël*, 1930, pp. 58 f., and Dussaud, *Les découvertes de Ras Shamra*, etc., 1937, p. 108, n. 1.

help when threatened by the Habiru of the region: Jerusalem was at this time surrounded by these newcomers and feared capture. The walled cities naturally held out longer than the country districts, and as regards Jerusalem in particular it is very well known that it was to resist until the time of David in 1050, say for another 300 years. But it is most interesting to hear in 1360 the cry of alarm of the Canaanite under the pressure of these conquering Bedouins whom David's Israelites must have resembled as closely as brothers.

## CHAPTER IX

### EGYPTIANS, HITTITES, AND MEDITERRANEAN PEOPLES FROM THE XIX<sup>TH</sup> DYNASTY TO THE END OF RAMSES III (1350-1180)

#### A. FROM HARMHAB TO SETI I; SETI IN SYRIA; THE ASIANIC WORLD UNDER MURSHILISH II AND MUWATTALISH; THE ACHÆANS

AFTER starting open war against Egypt in the lifetime of Amenhotep IV, as we have seen, Shubbiluliuma was led to intervene in Egypt itself in tragic circumstances. Amenhotep IV had made his religious revolution in favour of the sun-god and in opposition to the worship of Amon, very probably more from political, "anti-clerical" reasons than from purely spiritual ones, though on this point we know nothing for certain, and this had provoked violent disturbances in Egypt. There are signs of outrages during his reign, and the disappearance of the Pharaoh at the very moment of the Hittite attack leads to the suspicion that it was the domestic adversary who got rid of him, though it meant recourse to foreign intervention. Amenhotep had no son, but a married daughter, and her prince consort was proclaimed king by the legitimists under the religious system of the deceased king. The situation was not stable, and in a very short time the new king was replaced by another prince of the family, the very youthful Tutenkhamon, who, no doubt under compulsion, began the task of restoring the religion of Amon. Five or six years later Tutenkhamon also disappeared, and then occurred the

extraordinary incident, related only in the Hittite records at Boghaz Keui (for the Egyptians preferred to forget it), when a widowed queen of Egypt, the young widow of Tutenkhamon or perhaps the widow of Amenhotep IV himself, abandoned by everyone and with her life probably threatened, wrote to Shubbiluliuma, asking him to send one of his sons to marry her and become king of Egypt.<sup>1</sup> The Hittite king was reluctant to give credence to this request and made a reply, whereupon the queen sent an ambassador to confirm it and insist on it. Shubbiluliuma, who had taken up a strong position at Carchemish and was in firm possession of Coele-Syria, decided eventually to send one of his sons. The account of the affair stops at this point in the Hittite documents, but by supplementing them from Egyptian sources we can reconstruct the rest of the story. In Egypt the Amonian counter-revolution was in full swing, the Hittite prince was assassinated, and the Amonian party placed on the throne a certain *Eye*, who had been an important sacerdotal personage under Amenhotep IV.

The general trend of these events is clear enough: an Amonian restoration and national resistance under menacing Hittite protection. It is notorious also that first Tutenkhamon and then Eye reigned under the ægis of *Harmhab* or *Horemheb*, a formidable personage, master of the government, the soul of the counter-revolution, and an energetic military chief whose command dated from the time of Amenhotep IV. He might have proclaimed himself king immediately, but thought it better to wait.

Resistance to the Hittites, however, was at once

<sup>1</sup> Documents easily accessible in Sayce, *Ancient Egypt*, 1927, pp. 33-35; 1922, pp. 66 ff.



organized. Shubbiluliuma had taken the field to avenge his son. It seems that the war was unfortunate for everyone. The information at our disposal is scanty and contradictory, referring to calamities and mentioning epidemics among the Hittites which broke out in the field, spread to the civil population, and raged for a score of years. This would explain why Egypt was actually left undisturbed during this period, and it is understandable that the minister Harmhab was free, under Tutenkhamon himself and under Eye, to organize a fairly large expedition for the reconquest of Palestine. We have an account of this enterprise, which was the beginning of the great Egyptian reaction against Asia. In the latter country there was internal consolidation. Tutenkhamon reigned about six years and Eye probably four. Was Eye got rid of? It was the moment which Harmhab found opportune to take possession of the kingship at last, in his own name. He was the great king of the restoration, the real founder of the régime which bears the traditional name of the XIXth dynasty.

The internal history of Egypt ought not to occupy us any further here. We shall merely set down a parallel chronological table of the kings of Egypt and Hatti during this period. (See next page.)

In the first year of his reign Seti I resumed the enterprise of Harmhab in Palestine against the Habiru-Bedouins and the anarchic native cities. We have accounts of this at Karnak and at Beisan (the Biblical Beth-shan) in Syria itself (see above, Chapter VIII, B, concerning Syria at the time of the conquest of Thutmose III). Order was restored. It is highly probable that at the point we have now reached, on the threshold of the thirteenth century, Israel was already established in Palestine, as is shown by the

triumphal inscription of Merneptah, seventy or eighty years later. At all events it meant for Egypt the total reconquest of Palestine, resulting in a new clash with the Hittites in the following year.

EGYPT	HATTI	AMURRU
	Shubbiluliuma	
	1345.....	
	Arnuwandash III	
.....1344	1344.....	Aziru
Harmhab	Murshilish II	
(Horemheb)		
.....1320	1320.....	
Ramses I		
..... 1310 <sup>1</sup>		1310 (?)
Seti I	Muwattalish	
.....1298		
	1288.....	Bantishinna
	Urkhi-Teshub	
	1280.....	
	Hattushilish III	.....?
Ramses II	1260.....	
	Todhalijas IV	Istarmuwas
.....1232		
Merneptah	1225 (?).....	
..... (?) 1210	Arnuwandash IV	
Seti II	1210 (?).....	
.....1200	Todhalijas V	
Setnakht	1200 (?) .....	
.....1198		
Ramses III		
.....1169		
the other Ramseses		

<sup>1</sup> It is at this point, the beginning of the reign of Seti I, that the Greek list (Julius Africanus and others) places the commencement of the XIXth dynasty of Greek tradition.

Murshilish II, son of Shubbiluliuma, had for twenty-five years been a great warrior and organizer, occupied chiefly in the direction of Armenia and Assyria and benefiting always by the loyalty of northern Syria, where Aziru of Amurru remained a vassal and a sort of faithful viceroy. He left in 1320 a compact empire, an enormous feudal structure, closely bound together and extending over the whole of eastern Asia Minor from the Black Sea to the Euphrates, besides other nations merely connected with it by treaties of vassalage or alliance. We have already seen the importance of these treaties for the historical information they contain. Murshilish and his successors have left us some that are very rich in such information, for their method of recording all the ancient juridical titles of suzerainty caused them to ransack past history, thus preserving it for our use. For the period of Murshilish these documents furnish us with a valuable list of vassal nations, verified and supplemented by means of an Egyptian document of some thirty years later, *viz.* the list of nations allied to the Hittites at the time of the war of Ramses II (1295) with king Muwattalish, son and successor of Murshilish. It may be assumed that the constitution of the empire was the same in the reign of Muwattalish as in the preceding generation.

We will start with the Egyptian document, the list of the enemies of Ramses II, which includes the whole of the countries of Asia Minor. Among the most significant names are the following:

*Arzawa*, on the Cilician coast, well known in another connexion by the Hittites themselves.

*Masa*, which is *Mysia* in the north-west of the peninsula.

*Shardina*, which is *Sardes* in Lydia in the west of

Asia Minor. The word has the old Asianic qualifying suffix *-ena*, whose function in this geographical connexion is the same as that of the other suffix *-ash*, *-asha*, already explained, which is of Indo-European origin. These Shardina were bold mercenaries found among the Hittites, especially in 1295, and also in the Egyptian army.

*Luka*, or *Lycia*: Greek geography was acquainted also with *Lycaonia*, which was almost the same country and obviously also the same name, though differing by the addition of the ethnic suffix *-ena* just mentioned. These Luka or Lycians were already known as formidable pirates from the Amarna texts, in which the king of Cyprus complains of their incursions.

*Karkisha*, a very important name found also in Egypt itself in the simple form *Kerke*, *i.e.* without the suffix *-asha*, and containing the very name of *Cilicia*, *Κιλικία*. This root *Kerek* is an early Semitic vocable meaning "stronghold," and it is not at all surprising that place-names formed from this word should be met with in Hither Asia over a very wide area. Thus in the Greek period there is *Coracesion* on the Cilician coast, *i.e.* the "Cilician" town itself, and *Circesion*, a great crossing-place on the Euphrates, essentially "the stronghold," somewhat to the south of *Carchemish*, which is itself "the stronghold of Misha," the last part of the name being undoubtedly the name of a local god. And then there is *Kerak* beyond Jordan, the famous capital of Renaud de Chatillon in the days of the medieval Frankish kingships and no other than the Biblical *Kir of Moab*, the Moabite city of the time of the Israelite kings.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Note also that the Babylonians called their whole kingdom *Karduniash* after the Kassite period.

The Hittite documents after Murshilish II contain the most important of the names just mentioned, notably *Arzawa*, *Lugga*, *Karkisha*, and many others. Among them is one that we must dwell on—a name that does not appear among the Egyptians till a century later, under Merneptah, but which was already extremely well known to the Hittites in the days of Murshilish II. This is the name of the *Ahhijawa*, in which word we can clearly trace the *Achæans*. This is of great importance. The Achæans of early Greek tradition were the first of the Hellenes to arrive in Greece, a kind of advance-guard of the Indo-Europeans in that country, and we now see the Achæans in Asia Minor, connected with the Hittite empire which was likewise created by Indo-European immigrants. It is obviously of capital importance to know the geographical situation of the Achæans in Asia Minor, their relation to the Achæans of the west, by what route they had arrived, and what language they spoke—was it an Indo-European tongue like that spoken in Greece and also by the conquering Hittites? It is clear that the history of Asia Minor brings us into contact with the history of Hellenic origins.

These Achæans of Asia Minor appear in Hittite documents for a hundred years (fourteenth to thirteenth century) from the time of Murshilish II who was seriously concerned with them, both directly and indirectly, when he took the empire in hand. Their State was of great importance in Asia Minor. Its geographical position was on the south coast between Lycia and Cilicia, *i.e.* exactly the Pamphylia of Greek geography. We have as yet no texts originating with these Achæans themselves, for lack of research, but the Hittites give us information about them, particularly

the names of some of their kings: in the time of Murshilish II there was first *Antarawas* and then *Tawagalawas*, who were sometimes allies and sometimes rivals of the Hittites in wars in which Arzawa played a part. These two names can be turned without difficulty into *Andreus* and *Eteocles*, who are met with again, of course, in the Greek legend of Thebes. But we must not make the dangerous and childish mistake of going further and setting up a connexion between these legendary figures of continental Greece and the historical personages of Asia in the fourteenth century.<sup>1</sup> Shortly after there is mention, under Muwattalish, of a king of this same Pamphylian coast called *Aleksandus* of Vilusa (*Elusa* in Greek geography) who sounds very Greek also, and about 1250 in the Achæan States themselves we come across a king *Atarissijas*, undoubtedly the Greek *Atreus*, recalling this time the legend of Argos instead of Bœotia, though we must maintain the same reserve in interpreting this as meaning that the persons are identical, which would be extremely fallacious. The one fact to be noted—and a very important one it is in itself—is that these people of Asia Minor, to judge by the names met with in these circumstances, were closely related to the Hellenes of Europe.

It appears also from the Hittite narratives of the whole of this period that this Pamphylian State was a great maritime power whose activities extended from Rhodes to Cyprus and which was treated as a great power in the diplomatic acts of this time, although in the treaty between Todhalijas IV and Istarmuwas of Amurru in particular, and contrary to the belief of the earliest interpreters, this Achæan State was not placed

<sup>1</sup> There is another *Eteocles* also in Asia Minor—*Τουκολεῖς* in a late Cilician inscription.

on a footing of complete equality with those of the "great kings" of Hatti, Babylon, and Ashur.

With regard to their language we have nothing from themselves except the very significant names of places and kings already mentioned. But there would be nothing surprising in their speaking Greek, or at least a cognate Indo-European tongue, considering the nearness of the conquering Hittites with their Nesite language, and of the people of Arzawa. We know of the latter from the two famous letters of Amarna which have been studied since 1902, and their language, so long a mystery, is also Nesite.

In the same connexion, too, is to be noted another name in the Hittite documents relating to the south-west coast in the thirteenth century. This is the name of a country called *Khursanasa*, which was dependent on King Atarissijas, and which seems to be the Carian *Chersonesus*, this being a Greek word for "peninsula" (the Tauric Chersonesus in the Black Sea and the Thracian Chersonesus in the Aegean are well-known examples in other parts of the Greek world).

In conclusion we must inquire how and by what route these Achæans had come. They were regarded at first as a colony from Greece which had peopled Rhodes, Pamphylia, and Cyprus, where signs of Achæan toponymy are found in historical Greek times. But this source of origin in European Greece is found on examination to be unnecessary. It is to be noted that in classical Greek tradition itself no memory is preserved of any connexion between the *Hellene* Achæans, the ancestors of the Greeks, and these other Achæans of Asia and the great islands, whom the Greeks regarded as savage barbarians. It is quite possible that the historians of the classical period were right as to the

absence of any near relationship between the Achæans of the two continents. We reach the conjecture that the Asiatic Achæans of the Pamphylian coast arrived there undoubtedly by routes entirely independent of those by which the Achæans arrived in Greece at the same date, either at the same time as the Hittites and Arzawites penetrated into Asia Minor by the Caucasus and the east of the Black Sea, by the same route as the latter and maybe as their advance-guard, or else by the west of the Black Sea, *i.e.* by way of Thrace, so as to cross the Straits and enter the great peninsula at the same time as the Phrygians, who must have stopped on this coast next to the Bosphorus, and the Armenians, who were later on to move further eastward. This latter route, by way of Thrace and the Straits, is the more likely one for our Asiatic Achæans, for after crossing the Straits they could push right on southward and then south-eastward by way of Lydia and Caria. It is clear that according to this very attractive hypothesis the Hellenic Achæans of Europe and the Achæans of Asia would have followed the same route along the north of the Black Sea as far as the Straits, and this would on the whole explain fairly simply how the same name was kept by both peoples.

After the latest mention in the Hittite documents these Achæans, or at least some people of this nation, are to appear again in Egypt as formidable maritime adversaries in the time of Merneptah, *c.* 1220. That is the only time that they figure in Egypt during the fairly long history, marked by many changes of fortune, of the *Peoples of the Sea* and their invasions.



## B. RAMSES II, THE GREAT WAR, MUWATTALISH, AND HATTUSHILISH III; THE TREATY OF 1277

Such was the Hittite empire at the moment when Egypt and this empire confronted each other anew under Seti I and Muwattalish, son of Murshilish II whose reign has been described. Our knowledge of the reign of Muwattalish is derived mainly from the historical account given by his brother and second successor, Hattushilish III, who was for long years the functionary, general, and faithful vizier of his elder brother. We shall not dwell here on the Hittite history, some internal reforms made by Muwattalish, the pedigree of the family, or the fixing of the chronology, which is certain. The dates in our table show that the great battle of Kadesh, the principal event of the first part of the great war, which is dated the fifth year of Ramses II, about 1293, took place a few years before the end of the reign of Muwatallish. But hostilities had begun some ten years earlier, in the reign of Seti (*c.* 1305?), who had reconquered Palestine, as we have seen. The monuments of Seti tell us that this reconquest had been followed by an important expedition to Coele-Syria, directed "against the land of Kadesh and the land of Amor." Now we have already remarked that this land of Amor or Amurru under its king Aziru remained a faithful vassal of the Hittites in the time of Muwattalish, and from the Hittite annals we succeed in grasping the successive phases of the position of the Amorites in regard to these events, and that brings us right back to the history of Syria.

At any rate we read in the story told by Hattushilish III that Bantishinna had succeeded Aziru and had then been dethroned and taken prisoner by

Muwattalish. But Hattushilish had taken an interest in him, had taken him into his service, and when he himself became king (1280) restored him to the throne of Amurru, gave him one of his daughters in marriage, and renewed with him the former treaty that Shubbiuliuma had made with Aziru. These events are confirmed by a later treaty between Todhalijas IV, son of Hattushilish, and Istarmuwas, son of Bantishinna. This text also contains the following additional details: that the Amorites had formerly "rebelled" against Muwattalish and adhered to the Egyptian party, whereupon Muwattalish had recalled them to obedience and dethroned Bantishinna, replacing him by one Sabili until later on Hattushilish removed Sabili and put Bantishinna back on the throne. It is very remarkable that in these two documents dealing with events in Amurru the role of Egypt is reduced to a minimum: Egypt is spoken of as little as possible and even Hattushilish, the earliest and nearest in date to these events, passes over the Egyptians in complete silence. The Hittites of the succeeding period did not like to make any official reference to the events of the great war, which, on the whole, did not bring them much glory. But it is fairly clear that the defection of the Amorites in the reign of Muwattalish was connected with the victorious offensive of Seti, and that the unfortunate Bantishinna had found himself in the very same position as Aziru at an earlier date. He was obliged to make submission to Egypt and sent back to his country to organize resistance against Hatti, but was quite incapable of carrying out this duty as soon as the Hittites resumed the offensive.

This new offensive cannot have taken place till some time after the great battle of Kadesh (1293), in the

period of comparative stagnation that followed. So it was after 1293 that Bantishinna was dethroned, and in any case before 1288, since Muwattalish died in that year. His restoration by Hattushilish, which was certainly after 1280, was clearly very near in date to the great treaty of peace between Egypt and Hatti (twenty-first year of Ramses II, 1277), and the two events seem to have been connected with each other.

We will now follow the events of the war in order. Seti took up arms "against the land of Kadesh and the land of Amor." It is indubitable, despite the obscurity of the Egyptian narrative, that this action was successful and that its effect was to alter the direction of the vassalage of Amurru, as is proved by the changing policy of Bantishinna and by the fact that at the beginning of the period of Ramses II Amurru does not appear in the list of the allies and vassals of the Hittites, whereas Kadesh, to the south, does. Ramses II, on the other hand, was to report that he had drawn up his army "on the borders of Amurru." At this time Egypt had evidently advanced as far as northern Syria, or at least into the coastal strip. And we can be sure that when Ramses II came to the throne he found that Phœnicia had already returned submissively to the Egyptian obedience. Moreover, there is no further mention of Phœnicia during the long war that was to follow.

In the fourth year of Ramses II there was an expedition of the Pharaoh which carved stelæ of victory at the mouth of the Nahr-el-Kelb, quite near to Beirut. These monuments are connected with what the annals call the *first* campaign, whose principal object was apparently to repel an attack of the *Shardina*, the pirates who made forays on the Syrian coast. These

Shardina, as we have seen, are the best known of the Asianic mercenaries who appeared after the beginning of the thirteenth century, and they are found both in the bodyguard of Ramses II and in the ranks of the enemies of Egypt.

Next year, 1293, the fifth of Ramses and the twenty-sixth of Muwattalish, the great war broke out. Muwattalish had not resisted very strongly since the advance of Seti, about 1305, but the Amorite defection, intolerable as involving the admission of a great retreat, had been accomplished. The Hittite, therefore, determined on a great effort and set on foot that army of allies and vassals whom we have named in the list previously given from the narrative of Ramses II. It was drawn from the whole of Asia Minor, continental and maritime, as far as Naharin and Kadesh but excluding Amurru and the coast. Of the great Egyptian account of the campaign we have at least two complete copies in mural inscriptions and three on papyrus, those on temple walls including pictures, and this narrative shows that among the Hittites and Asianics were some Bedouin-Semite elements belonging to the Habiru-Aramæans whose peoples we know so well. By combining the figures given in the documents we can conclude that there were altogether, footmen and chariots, from 25,000 to 30,000 men on each side—formidable armies for that period.

Ramses took the field by way of the Phœnician coast and Amurru, proceeding thence towards the enemy by inland roads. We shall not linger over the strategical details, which were characterized by the circumstance that the enemy, believed to be concentrated near Aleppo, was far to the south of that region, under the walls of Kadesh. Consequently the

Egyptian army, ill informed, was surprised on the march, attacked on the flank, and threatened with destruction towards the mouth of the Simyra defile. Ramses was able to face and check the attack, giving time for the advance-guard to turn back and join in the fight before nightfall. Next day there was a great and confused battle in which apparently too many men faced each other in a restricted space, but with the result that the Hittite offensive was at length broken. The Hittite king asked for a truce, which the Egyptians were no doubt glad to grant immediately.

The battle was over but the war continued and the situation remained doubtful. The Egyptians had not even retaken Kadesh. In the following years they made many small campaigns in Phœnicia and Palestine to consolidate and extend their possessions. Some cities were taken, and particularly, according to the texts and pictures, a city called *Dapur* whose site, whether in Galilee or much further north in Amurru proper, is uncertain. These events took place in about the eighth or tenth year, about the time of the disappearance of Muwattalish, so Bantishinna was already dethroned and it is clear that Egyptian domination in this northerly direction was far from being uncontested, and it would seem rather that there had been a withdrawal in this quarter. The Egyptian domain at this point in the war was most probably confined to Palestine and Lebanon.

On the death of Muwattalish the throne was ascended by Urkhi-Teshub, who allowed things to fall into disorder and put the empire in great peril. But we cannot enter here into the details of the disputes over the succession and the civil wars which ended finally in the accession of Hattushilish III, brother of Muwattalish,

in 1280. The new emperor at once took in hand the most urgent task, that of resistance to Ashur, whose renaissance had been going on for a hundred years. It will be recalled that it was against Ashur-uballit (c. 1360) that Shubbiluliuma had reinstated Mattiuaza of Mitanni. Since the days of Ashur-uballit eighty years had passed and these Assyrians had almost reduced the Babylonian kingdom to a state of vassalage, the reverse of the earlier position. In Mesopotamia, apart from the Babylonian power, the advance of the Assyrians met the ruins of the ancient Mitannian organization, with States and kingdoms still in existence and scattered among them also some *Akhlamu* and *Sutu*, who, as we know, were Aramæans.

At the same time as the accession of Hattushilish in 1280 there ascended the throne of Ashur its first great emperor, *Shalmaneser I*, who marched against the Euphrates, the ancient Mitanni, whose king had allied himself with the *Akhlamu* and the Hittites. In another quarter Hattushilish had an offensive and defensive alliance with the king of Babylon—he had naturally received a princess in marriage—but at Babylon the wind changed, the government of a new and youthful king, still in his minority, determined to be cautious, and Hattushilish III remained absolutely alone to face Egypt, still actively warlike, and Assyria, growing daily more threatening.

As the great peace treaty with Egypt was made in 1277, the third or fourth year of Hattushilish, it is extremely probable that it was through these circumstances and under pressure of the threat from Assyria that the Hittite king determined to make sure of peace from the Egyptian quarter, so that he could then arrange a policy of alliance with Babylonia to support

her against Assyria—a policy on which we find him engaged in the following years. Generally speaking, indeed, it seems that the Hitto-Egyptian peace, sixteen years after the battle of Kadesh, was mainly the outcome of weariness arising from this deadlock along the line of trenches in central Syria. We do not possess the text of the treaty itself, what we have being a later instrument: this is a treaty of alliance, offensive and defensive, political and economic, from which we can draw only one inference, that by the terms of the preceding treaty of peace the frontier cut Syria in two, leaving Kadesh to Egypt and perhaps making Amurru a kind of buffer or neutral State, for at that point Bantishinna was restored to the throne, and we may well ask whether his restoration was not a diplomatic concession demanded by Ramses himself. And as Bantishinna had been a *protégé* of Hattushilish during the long period before his reign it may be that the accession of the latter marked a reaction against the warlike and anti-Egyptian policy of the former régime.

The Hitto-Egyptian treaty of alliance was an important act, equivalent to a partition of the world between the two empires, just as formerly in 1450, in the reign of Thutmose III, a line had been drawn between the Egyptian empire and the Mitannian power on the Euphrates, and this had determined and preserved peace in Mediterranean Asia for about a century. Our principal document is the Egyptian text of Ramses II at Karnak and the Ramesseum, which is not an original but the Egyptian translation of the Hittite original received by the Egyptian chancellery. This Hittite document was confirmed in return by the dispatch of a concordant text which we have in the Boghaz Keui archives. This, though incomplete and fragmentary,

elucidates and supplements the other text. It is in the Akkadian language, which is evidently used for diplomatic purposes as at the time of the Amarna Letters.

Though of great importance for the general history of the nations, the text is of only secondary importance for our purpose. We will note only one detail, about the seal of Queen *Pudukhipa* which, according to the hieroglyphic text in Egypt, was affixed, among others, to the original document. For we know this queen of Hattushilish III from Hittite documents. She was the daughter of a prince of *Kizzuwadna* in the Black Sea region, and it is useful to consider the connexion between her name and those of the two Mitannian princesses who were given in marriage to Amenhotep III, namely *Gilukhipa*, daughter of Shuttarna, and *Tadukhipa*, daughter of Tushratta. Each of these contains the element *Khipa*, which can only be the name of a god. And beside these three women's names must be placed that of *Abdi-Khiba*, king of Jerusalem, in the Amarna Letters. The latter name is clearly Hurri-Mitannian, from the name of the god, although the vocable *Abd* is pure Hebrew-Phœnician. As for the god *Khipa*, thus met with in three god-compounds in Mitanni, in Pontus, and in Palestine, he was evidently a well-known figure from the Black Sea to the Mediterranean and the Euphrates, and must be considered to belong to the old and strictly Hurrite element in this huge area.

### C. FROM MERNEPTAH TO RAMSES III; THE PEOPLES OF THE SEA

Ramses II disappears in 1232 after a reign of sixty-six years. Hattushilish III had been replaced in 1260



by Todhalijas IV, who was to live till about 1225. Ramses II was succeeded by his son Merneptah, already old, who was to reign for some twenty years.

In the fifth year of Merneptah occurred the very serious incident of the invasion of Egypt by the *Libyans*, for whose repulse the Pharaoh took great glory to himself, as is shown by the Egyptian accounts of the war and their hymns of triumph. They had among them as allies or mercenaries some members of those nations of Asia Minor, principally the maritime ones, which we have met with already in the service of the Hittites in the great campaign at the beginning of the reign of Ramses II. This time these *Peoples of the Sea* were among the troops of the Libyan invader. Among them we find once more the *Luka* (Lycians) and the *Shardina* (Sardes, in Lydia), besides some new names: the *Tursha* (Tarsus, in Cilicia, and therefore the same as the *Kirkisha* met with in the time of Ramses II), the *Shakalsha* (Sagalassus, in Phrygia), and lastly the *Akaiwasha*. The latter is a very interesting name, for it shows us again the *Ahhijawa* of Boghaz Keui, *i.e.* the *Achæan* State in Pamphylia, known from 1340 onwards in Hittite documents.

It is very plain what all these peoples were—most of them maritime folk from the south of Asia Minor, soldiers first of Hatti and then of the Libyans, engaged in service in which, according to all the evidence, their nations themselves were in no wise engaged. They were mercenaries, described in documents by their various nationalities, as is done at all periods in like circumstances. This is particularly evident in the case of the people we know best to-day—the Achæans. It was long believed, in default of better knowledge, that the people thus named in the time of Merneptah came

from continental Greece, but now that we have knowledge of the Achæans of Pamphylia it is evident that these latter are much better situated, in the middle (geographically) of all their maritime fellow peoples, to have furnished the mercenaries mentioned in the Egyptian narratives. And the history of Merneptah is so far the only one in which these Achæans appear as mercenaries in foreign wars.

Among the documents relating to Merneptah's campaign and victory must be mentioned the triumphal hymn that covers a great stele at Karnak which is very famous for one detail quite unconnected with the purpose of the monument. The latter is called, from that very detail, the *Israel Stele*, for we actually find on it the earliest historical reference to Israel in Palestine—a reference that is to some extent casual and accidental. The long poem ends by proclaiming the destruction of all the enemies of Egypt: "Libya is wasted, Hatti is pacified, Canaan is plundered, Askalon is carried off, Gezer is seized upon, Yenoam is annihilated, Israel is desolated and her seed is not, Horu [Syro-Palestine in general] has become as a widow." Here, along with the great geographical areas Libya, Hatti, Canaan, and Syria, we find, rather strangely grouped, four particular names from Palestine and the neighbouring coast: Askalon, well known on the Philistine coast; Gezer, frequently mentioned in Biblical history and Egyptian geography, half-way between Jerusalem and the sea; Yenoam, also frequently mentioned but not precisely located; and lastly Israel, apparently confirming the fact that in the days of Merneptah, about the end of the thirteenth century, the Israelites were already settled in their historic domain.

The Libyan adventure in Egypt, c. 1227, was contemporaneous with the extreme end of the reign of Todhalijas IV. His long reign continued the powerful and regular history of that empire, faithful to the peace of equilibrium with Egypt and obstinate in defence against the might of Assyria which continued to make progress, reaching its highest point with *Tukulti-Ninurta I* (1260-1235, the period of Todhalijas IV). He was the son of Shalmaneser I with whom Hattushilish III had had relations. On the other side of his empire, in Asia Minor, on the shores of the Mediterranean, Todhalijas IV was busily engaged for long years with the *Achæan* empire which had become his determined rival and enemy under a king *Attarissijas*, already referred to on account of his name, which is the Greek *Atreus*. This conquering Atreus was master of half the island of Cyprus, and this maritime extension gives us the clue to the Achæan settlements in Cyprus that were known to the Greeks of the classical period. It may be remarked that the origin of the Achæans of Rhodes is certainly to be explained in the same way.

Under *Arnuwandash IV*, successor to Todhalijas IV, the situation in all theatres was the same. After this king we find a Todhalijas V, who must have reigned till about 1200. With him we reach the sudden interruption of all documentary information from Boghaz Keui, and as we have so far had no source of knowledge of the Hittite world of this period except the Boghaz Keui "library" it is the whole of Hittite history that is plunged in darkness, together with the subsequent history of the Achæans of Pamphylia and all the other peoples of Asia Minor. It is, in fact, as if a catastrophe had struck Hatti, or perhaps merely a removal of the capital. If there was a catastrophe (which is not

certain) it has been suggested that it may have been connected with a huge rising of the peoples, principally the Mediterranean ones, in the Asianic area. The precise symptoms of such a crisis would be some tendencies to movement, as well as the presence among the Libyans in Africa of the mercenary bands of these peoples, as there had been previously in Hatti itself. And, what is far more significant, we have the history of a regular invasion of northern Syria and the lands up to the Euphrates by Mediterranean peoples, after which they flooded Syria and attacked Egypt. This invasion by the Peoples of the Sea will be related to us in Egypt, shortly after the time of Merneptah, between 1200 and 1180.

After Merneptah, about 1210, there were some years of disorder and short reigns, showing that the rule of the mighty Ramessid empire was becoming worn out and nearing its end. Yet the restoration had one further success: this was the work of Setnakht, probably a usurper, whose son and successor was Ramses III, c. 1200, the last great Pharaoh of the Ramessid line.

From this date Egypt was on the defensive. She was attacked not by the Hittites, whose power very probably no longer existed, but, as in Merneptah's reign, by the Libyans from the west who invaded her twice, in the fifth and eleventh years of the reign. On the first occasion the Libyans had as allies in their attempt some maritime "Peoples of the North," just as previously in Merneptah's time. But now two new names occur alone: *Pulesati* and *Zakkala*, and these are to appear again on the scene at the time of the great events of the eighth year. In the fifth year, however, the aggressors were repulsed without much difficulty.

In the eighth year things were more serious. Some

peoples from Asia Minor and the Mediterranean, some of them known to us, invaded northern Syria, which they probably reached by sea. The Egyptian account gives the following six names:

1. *Shardina*, occurring very frequently everywhere since the time of Ramses II;
2. *Shakalsha*, met with already in the time of Merneptah;
3. *Pulesati* } met with three years earlier in the Libyan
4. *Zakkala* } invasions;
5. *Danuna*, a new name;
6. *Washasha*, a new name.

This time these were no longer mercenaries of the Hittite or Libyan king but a compact and independent coalition. Nor were they royal or princely armies, but great hordes accompanied by their women and children and powerfully armed—in fact a veritable barbarian invasion making settlements by force. They covered northern Syria, Amurru, and the whole of the vast area to the east as far as Carchemish on the Euphrates, so that the invasion was of very great extent. Mention is made of the occupation of *Arvad* and *Alasa*, i.e. Cyprus. Then they started southwards by way of the sea and the Syrian land routes, made contact with Egypt on both fronts, and tried to enter the country but were put to flight by the forces of Ramses III. The whole of this story is related in the documents of this king.

What was the origin of these six invading peoples? We know already that the *Shardina* were Lydians from the west of the great peninsula (Sardes), and that the *Shakalsha* were mainland people from Phrygia (Sagalassus). So too the newly-mentioned *Washasha* recall the Oassians of Asia Minor. But *Danuna* is still a mystery. No doubt they were *Danaans*, now that we know that the principal part of the Achæans were not

in European Greece, but in what region did they dwell? As for the *Pulesati* and *Zakkala*, so often appearing together, we may be sure that they were not Asianics but came from the Mediterranean itself.

*Pulesati* is quite certainly the name of the *Philistines*, and of *Palestine* as well. There is nothing surprising in this, for "Palestine" in classical Greek geography was the name of the hinterland of the coast to which the name "Philistia" was given. As for the people of this coast, the Philistines, we know their history chiefly from Israelite sources. They were a warrior people who occupied the coast west of the land of Israel proper and south of Phœnicia, including the famous ports of Gaza, Ashdod, Askalon, etc., and who always barred the Israelites from access to the sea. Israel had to fight against them for several centuries and was in collision with them during the period of the Judges, 100 or 200 years before the Kingly period. This means that the Philistines were there perhaps in 1200 and certainly between 1200 and 1100, and in the Israelite account of them we may find an indication that these sea folk, the *Plesti* of the text, came from Crete. This must be equally true of the people of the same name, the *Pulesati*, who were among the enemies of Ramses III: the dates agree, and the somewhat childish conclusion has often been carelessly drawn that after the check to the invasion of Egypt and the dispersal of the wave of invaders the Pulesati were led by circumstances to the Palestine coast where they settled and became the Philistines of history. But such an identification is quite useless. There were simply two bands of the same people on one side or the other in the two enterprises. This phenomenon of displacement, this dissemination of the folk-name, is, moreover, common at

this time in the great group of "Peoples of the Sea" known to Ramses II, Merneptah, and Ramses III, bands of which swarmed from the eastern Mediterranean as far as Italy and much further still: in the Note at the end of this chapter are gathered together the principal facts on this subject. It is clearly recognized that when the same folk-name is found at several places in the great maritime basin it is not in the least a matter of the same individuals or the same migration seized on at different points in its course, but much more simply of independent movements and arrivals of several detachments of the same people.

For the Philistines of Ramses III and those of the classical Philistia, therefore, the national identity and the Biblical explanations merely show that this tribe among the enemies of Ramses III was cradled in Crete. Consequently, as far as the other members of the coalition can be located, it can be stated on the whole that the regions represented in this migratory enterprise were only Lydia and Phrygia, *i.e.* the west and north-west of Asia Minor, together with Crete, in the south of the Aegean, while the south coast of the great peninsula—Lycia, Pamphylia, and Cilicia—was completely absent. This limitation of the phenomenon to western Asia Minor and the Aegean Sea throws no light on the nature of the cataclysm that drove all these people from their lands and thrust them far eastward in such masses. None the less it is very likely that about 1200 there was a thrust from the west, by land and sea, on the part of the Indo-Europeans who continued to flow from the north, in this case the Hellenes of the second group, the Dorians of tradition. And we are led to the conclusion that the migration of the maritime Asianics may have been merely an episode in

a far larger drama in which the Hittite empire met with destruction in 1200.

After this, however, the reign of Ramses III ran a fairly successful course. In the eleventh year Egypt repelled a second Libyan attack from which the Peoples of the Sea were entirely absent. A little later the Egyptian force was apparently available, for Egypt took the offensive in a Syrian war as far as the Hittite frontier, and the course of this war shows that if there was still a Hittite power it was no longer to be feared. According to the texts and pictures it took place in the land of Amor, and two cities defended by the Hittites were captured. The list of the vanquished includes Hatti first, then Amor itself, then some well-known Mediterranean peoples, Zakkala and Shardina, some common *Shasu* (Bedouins), and finally and most remarkably, some other Asianics, only met with before in the time of Merneptah, the *Tursha*, or Cilicians of Tarsus.

To end the story of Syro-Palestine in the days of Ramses III it should be remarked that in an important document of this reign, called the *Great Harris Papyrus*, the king is made to say that he has "destroyed the people of Seir and the tribes of the Shasu (Bedouins)." This Egyptian mention of *Seir* is interesting: the name, it is known, stands for the Egypto-Palestinian steppe where in the Israelite period dwelt the Edomites who had arrived there before Israel, *i.e.* long before the expedition of Ramses III, which proceeded, obviously, into Edomite territory. Alongside this brief reference must be placed the explicit mention of Edom in Egyptian documents a few years earlier, in the reign of Seti II (between Merneptah and Ramses III). This is in the text of an administrative letter setting forth that



a band of *Shasu from Eduma* (Bedouins from Edom) had appeared at the Egyptian frontier on the Isthmus, requesting permission to enter the pastoral steppe. So *Israel* is mentioned in the time of Merneptah and then *Edom* in that of Seti II (though it should be noted that "Edom" had already appeared in the composition of certain names of peoples or countries in the time of Thutmose III and Amenhotep II). These references are evidence of Egyptian knowledge (c. 1210) of this new Hebrew community that was in process of becoming settled in Palestine.

On the death of Ramses III he was succeeded by others of the same name—those of the XXth dynasty of Greek tradition—in an empire that was falling into decay and soon to be dissolved. Egypt was breaking up and losing its might for long centuries if not for ever: the days of its world greatness had passed. The Egyptian government after 1180 could no longer claim to dictate to the countries of Asia. In the north, too, there was no longer any Hittite empire; in the east the exhausted land of Babylon remained tranquil, and Assyria, still growing in power and eventually feared even by the Hittites, was not yet strong enough to exert pressure on the Mediterranean lands. So for Phœnicia, Syria, and Palestine there began a period of independence which was to end only with the Assyrian conquest in the first part of the ninth century.

#### NOTE ON THE DISSEMINATION OF FOLK-NAMES IN THE EASTERN MEDITERRANEAN BASIN

*Kerksha*, *Kerke* (New Empire)=*Cilicia*, as well as *Cora-cesion* on the Cilician coast. But there are also *Circesion*, etc.=the modern *Kelekesh* at the junction

of the Khabur and the Euphrates, and elsewhere the Biblical *Gergesh* of Canaan, besides *Carchemish* on the Euphrates, in which we see the Semitic *Karko*, meaning "stronghold," preserved in its simple form in *Kerak* beyond Jordan, the Biblical *Kir of Moab*. The general meaning of *Kerk* makes it needless to postulate a physical dispersion of the occupants of every land thus named. This applies also to:

*Pidasa* (Ramses II) = *Pedasmus*, the name of several localities in Greece, the Troad, and Caria. *Pedasmus* means "mountain" in an ancient pre-Hellenic tongue, according to Greek tradition itself.

*Luka* (Ramses II, Merneptah) = *Lycia* and also *Lycaonia* (south coast of Asia Minor), but we also find a *Lycia* in Crete and another in Attica. There is a reference in the Amarna Letters to some *Lukki* engaged in an expedition to Aradus. This name, too, may describe some natural feature.

*Akaiwasha* (Merneptah) = *Ahhijawa* (Boghaz Keui) = *Achæans*—a point fully dealt with above. They were peoples located in Greece and Pamphylia and settlements of emigrant Pamphylians in Cyprus and Rhodes. Here the actual physical dissemination of the name is clearly seen.

*Pulesati* = *Philistines*, mentioned as taking part in the invasion of the eighth year of Ramses III and in a quite different quarter in the Biblical story as a warrior people occupying the coast south of Phœnicia. As explained above, there is no reason to regard the people invading northern Syria as the same as those similarly named on the Mediterranean at a later stage of their history; we simply find two independent bodies of migrants of the same people in two districts. Biblical information enables us to locate this primitive people in Crete.

*Shardina* (very common under the New Empire) = *Sardes*, Σάρδεις, the latter form representing an ethnic *Sard-asha*




not preserved. In Greco-Latin geography the great Mediterranean island is called Σαρδών and *Sardinia*, which is also merely Σαρδῶ without either of the two ethnic terminations. This name bears witness to a westward emigration from Lydia.

*Shakalsha*=*Sagalassus* in Phrygia, and perhaps also Σικελοί, *Siculi*, *Sicily*, the transference of the name revealing the same phenomenon of migration to the western Mediterranean. (The Greco-Latin *Siculi* would be the transcription of a simple root *Sakala* without the ethnic suffix.)

*Tursha*=*Tarsus* in Cilicia, and certainly also *Tyrsenians* or *Tyrrhenians*, *Etrusci*, *Tusci*, *Etruria*. Τυρσηνοί=Τυρρηνοί shows the ethnic termination *-ena* added to a root *Tursh*, either primitive or already developed. In the final form it is clear that there may perhaps be two ethnic suffixes together. A similar reduplication of suffix on the same root appears, it would seem, in the name of the famous *Tartessus* on the Guadalquivir. We can thus see how far this westerly Cilician migration apparently went, while some of its waves remained, together with the folk-name, on the Italian mainland opposite Sardinia.

## CHAPTER X

### THE ALPHABET IN PHœNICIA

WHEN writing appears, at an early stage in the progress of civilization, it is always in the form of *pictography*, i.e. a collection of pictorial signs representing objects or ideas and at the same time expressing the corresponding words: a succession of these sign-words constitutes the writing of a sentence. And everywhere, in all the ancient civilizations where the phenomenon is observed, pictography soon succeeds in enriching its system at the cost of a certain complication, so as to obtain precision and clearness of expression. This complication, which is none the less reasonable and pursued with perfect regularity, consists in allocating some of the signs to represent the *sounds* instead of the *idea and object* words of their primitive mode of expression. In other words, some of the signs become *phonetic* instead of *ideographic*. The method is simple enough: in hieroglyphic Egyptian, for instance, to write the verb meaning "to be upright, stable, durable," recourse was first had to a pictogram connected with the idea, namely the figure of a draught-board with pieces standing upright on the table, simplified in written form as . The word and the object were called *mn*. Now almost at the very beginning the sign became a *phonetic* one, assigned to the mere written syllable *mn* in any meaning whatever or as an integral part of any vocable whatever. Similarly the words for "height, hill, rise" were expressed pictographically by the staircase  simplified into  the name of the object and the idea being *k*:

(*qoph* + *aleph*), and this sign like an inclined plane was very quickly changed into a syllabic phonetic sign, or, more simply, into the consonantal *qoph* alone.

Other signs were left to their primitive ideographic function. Some became phonetic and at the same time retained their power of playing their former ideographic part. All the words of the spoken sentence were written, and each word was written either by means of one or more phonetic signs, or by its primitive ideogram, or by phonetic signs supplemented by one or more explanatory ideograms. So the system was a mixture, very clear when once it is explained, of words written in three ways, *viz.* in ideograms alone, in groups of phonetic signs, or in phonetic signs supplemented by explanatory or determinative ideograms.

All this is common to the great well-known systems of early times, *e.g.* the Egyptian hieroglyphics and the Akkadian cuneiform. But in the detailed application of the method each system was organized in its own more or less special manner. Thus in regular classical Egyptian the phonetic signs, evolved from the earlier ideograms and converted to a syllabic function, had a greater or less value, comprising one, two, or three consonants (not to mention the vowels, which were not written in Semitic languages) according to the name of the object originally represented by the sign. Here are some examples of consonantal phonetic signs:




#### TRILITERAL PHONETIC SIGNS

- † Sceptre, originally called *kh-r-p* or *s-kh-m*: phonetic sign expressing these values.
- Table for offerings, bearing loaf: phonetic sign *h-t-p*, the word signifying "to be at peace or



satisfied." The table with the bread offering was originally chosen to express the sequence of ideas, *satisfaction, contentment, rest, peace-offering*, etc.

Scarab-beetle called *kh-p-r*, used from the beginning to denote the verb pronounced *kh-p-r*.

### BILITERAL PHONETIC SIGNS

-  Hafted chisel, *mr*, very soon becoming the phonetic sign for *mr*.
-  Basket, *nb*, furnishing the phonetic sign having this value.
-  Vessel with neck, *nw*, furnishing this phonetic sign.

### UNILITERAL PHONETIC SIGNS

- Cubical plinth, called *p*-
  - Bolt, called *s*-
  -  Cup with handle, called *k*-
  -  Human mouth, called *r*-
- } furnishing the simple  
} phonetic signs for these  
} values.

The varying number of consonants in these examples shows the entire absence of the idea of *syllables*: there is no question as to whether *kh-p-r*, for instance, has two syllables or only one, or whether *m-n* or *n-b*, with two consonants, is one syllable any more than *p* or *r*, which have only one. And naturally there is no idea either of an *alphabetical* sign, as the sign standing for *r* or *p* or *s*, etc., is in the Egyptian system a complete phonetic unit, of the same kind as the most elaborate signs, and, like them, can carry any of the different vowel sounds.

Egyptian scribes knew, however, that the elaborate phonetic signs—those of three consonants, for instance—might be harder to interpret from memory than

the simpler ones, and knew also that there was a risk of confusion between signs that happened to be alike but represented quite different values. The Egyptian system remedied these inconveniences by making the phonetic sign clearer by writing in full either the whole or a part of its simple components. For instance, to distinguish the sceptre  $\dagger$  *s-kh-m* from the other very similar sceptre *kh-r-p*, it would be written in full  $\left| \odot \right| \left| \text{bird} \right| \dagger$ , with the three component elements preceding the sign for the whole, or else simply  $\left| \odot \right| \dagger$ , or again  $\left| \text{bird} \right| \left| \text{bird} \right|$ . So also to distinguish the phonetic signs 'b and *mr* of the two chisels  $\dagger$  and  $\dagger$ , which are easily confused, they wrote  $\dagger \left| \right|$  for 'b with the final *b*, and  $\left| \text{bird} \right| \dagger$  or  $\dagger \left| \text{bird} \right|$  for *mr*, with its components. It was customary to write  $\left| \text{wh} \right|$  with the final 'ayin, and  $\left| \text{mn} \right|$  with its final *n*, and also  $\text{htp}$  with its two end signs *t* and *p*, giving the group  $\left| \text{htp} \right|$ .

But notwithstanding all this precision the vowels were not written at all. They existed in the spoken language, of course, and were pronounced in their proper places in the words: speech comes before any attempt at writing, and has no concern with writing. The vowels were omitted in writing on a reasoned principle, so that the same phonetic sign was used in the most different words for its consonants alone, regardless of the different vowels that these words inserted within the same consonantal framework. For instance, the above-mentioned  $\left| \text{mn} \right|$  was written  $\left| \text{stability} \right|$  for "stability,"  $\left| \right|$  for "approach,"  $\left| \text{cattle} \right|$  for "cattle,"  $\left| \odot \right|$  for "daily," and in a number of other ways without being encumbered by an extreme variety of medial vowels in the syllable *m-n*, written always with the same sign. The system was thus a kind of shorthand. Such a system is particularly sensitive owing to its lack of detail in expressing,

or rather in *not* expressing, grammatical inflexions, principally in the verb, whose mechanism is very elaborate: this is well shown in the Coptic language, where inflexions for tense and mood were not written because in the majority of cases they were matters of vocalization or accent. Neither writer nor reader felt the lack of them. Speaking generally, too, is not all writing a kind of shorthand and all reading a matter of interpretation? It is quite obvious that those who write do so for themselves and for readers sufficiently educated to understand them, and not for investigators thousands of years later.

This omission of the vowels, however, is not a general rule in ancient written languages. It is characteristic of the writing of the Semitic tongues, which continued for a long time and among many peoples, to leave out the vowels, even when the alphabet was employed: vowels are not written in classical Hebrew or classical Arabic. And yet at the earliest stage there are Semitic writings which *do* insert them, such as the cuneiform Akkadian, which is purely Semitic. There, as in Egypt, we find ideograms, phonetic signs of varying complexity, and determinatives, the words written with elements of these three classes being mixed up together. But there is a vast difference in the phonetic sign that expresses a positive phonetic value, *i.e. including the vowel*: either vowel + consonant, or consonant + vowel, or a medial vowel between two consonants—either *-m*, or *m-*, or *m-n*. This is infinitely more precise for phonetic expression as a whole than the Egyptian system.

But such a system is still complicated. It may be very precise, but it is certainly too elaborate and too much encumbered with signs in juxtaposition. A search for simplification was bound to be made eventually,



chiefly in the direction of purely phonetic expression, *i.e.* the suppression of ideograms, especially those which served only as determinatives. There are evidences of this in some systems known to us, and notably in the *Cypriote*, which is certainly very ancient though the texts that we possess date only from the third century B.C. This system is what may be called a *syllabary* pure and simple, the phonetic sign expressing exclusively a syllable of the simplest type, *m-* (consonant + vowel), and therefore requiring in principle four or five syllabic signs for each initial consonant, according to the number of vowels required to appear in them—say between 80 and 100 signs for 18 or 20 consonants, according to the richness of the language. This is not very complicated, and it is very happily conceived. As a matter of fact there are not quite 80 signs in the Cypriote system.

This third-century system was very probably derived from one 1000 years older—that of the *Cretan tablets*. Of these we possess some thousands of specimens since the great discoveries of Cnossus, Phæstus, etc., which laid bare the splendid Aegean civilization of the second millennium, before the coming of the Indo-Europeans. Having its centre in Crete, it covered the Aegean, the region that was to become the mainland of Greece, and a part of Asia Minor and the eastern Mediterranean. For several centuries around 1500 a kind of writing was in frequent use on clay and stone tablets like the cuneiform, showing some resemblances to the Cypriote as well as a certain similarity in the total number of signs employed, so that it is quite probable that it was from this early Cretan system that the Cypriote one was derived by simplification and regularization. For in the early Cretan, which was richer and still in touch with the hieroglyphic usages

of earlier millennia, it is noticeable that there are still some determinative ideograms, which were absent from the Cypriote system.

This Cretan *syllabary*—for in essence that is very probably what it was—has not yet been deciphered. The language thus written in the second millennium was very likely one of the primitive tongues of the Aegeo-Asianic area at a period earlier than the coming of the Indo-Europeans, and probably therefore one of the very languages of the Boghaz Keui cuneiform, and as these are now either known or in course of becoming known we see the possibility of penetrating one day the mystery of the still undeciphered writing.

It would appear to have been possible to pass very easily from a system like that of the Cypriotes, a syllabary constituted so simply and clearly on a uniconsonantal basis, to an alphabet in the strict sense. But in the Aegeo-Asianic area this final step was never taken. We can say "never" because the Cypriote language belongs to the third century B.C., and the alphabet was invented in a different region, as we shall see, before the year 1000, *i.e.* some 700 or 800 years earlier. How are we to explain the inefficiency in the Aegeo-Asianic area that this implies? It must be understood that this invention of the alphabet was in reality a profound and difficult problem, quite new to the minds of men and demanding all their resources of observation and reasoning if the analysis of the phenomenon of language was to lead them to realize and formulate clearly that human speech can be broken up into a small number of simple articulations, each of which needs to be represented by only one sign. To us this seems very obvious and quite simple, but it was not so to men who had always used complicated figures to write their language.

Moreover, and this is undoubtedly the root of the difficulty, they had not yet at their disposal in their intellectual equipment any mechanism for logical reasoning, and did not yet know how to state a problem precisely and then solve it. But it is clear that when this statement and solution were accomplished, *i.e.* when the breaking-up of the language into elementary articulations had been grasped and carried out, all that then remained was either to create the 20 or 25 signs needed to represent them or to borrow them from one or other of the earlier systems then in use. In short, the invention and creation of the alphabet were not a graphical problem, nor was it the much-discussed question of *borrowing* or *inventing* signs, but a much harder and more profound question, *viz.*, stating and then solving a problem of scientific phonetic analysis. This was quite new and undoubtedly very difficult for the Ancients who succeeded in solving it.

It was in the Syro-Phœnician region that this great invention was made, and, as we now know, in distinctly different circumstances from what was imagined only a few years ago when the early Phœnician alphabet was thought to have been merely taken from one or other of the eastern written languages of the early Egypto-Asiatic world. There is proof to-day that the invention of the alphabet arose out of a general need and the birth of the same idea and the same discovery at a certain moment. This took place simultaneously at several points on the Syro-Phœnician coast, and naturally in forms that differed greatly from each other in matters of detail.

The *Phœnician alphabet* has been known to us for a long time. It was in use at least as early as the ninth century (stele of Mesha) and was borrowed by the

Greeks when they became civilized about the year 1000 and began to write. (They were still in a very uncivilized state in 1200 or 1100, the Achæans arriving after 1400 and the Dorians about 1200.) All the early Greek alphabets of Asia Minor and the Aegean were derived from the Phœnician, and from them, at the same time as classical Greek, and in more or less different forms, came the Italiot alphabets, and particularly the Latin one. Then from the Greek and Latin alphabets were derived all those of the East since the Christian era, the Coptic in Egypt (old Greek), the Russian, and the Western ones, including our own. Thus all existing forms of writing proceeded from a single source. Even some thirty years ago nothing more than this was known about the history of the origin of the alphabet.

Since then, however, we have learnt that the Phœnician alphabet, whose fortune it was to conquer the civilized world in this manner, was not the only attempt to establish an alphabet at the time when it was invented, and that at the same time other systems appeared quite independently and were widely employed, only to fade away and perish, rendered useless by the universal success of the more fortunate Phœnician system.

Attention must first be given to the history of *ordinary Phœnician*. Since the middle of the nineteenth century a fair number of inscriptions had been known in the Phœnicio-Israelite area belonging to the Judean royal period, from the seventh to the fifth century, when there was as yet little writing. There were one or two hundred of these on small monuments, royal seals, intaglios, and so forth, in *Phœnician Hebrew*, as the language and writing were called, and a particularly important Judean inscription on the Siloam aqueduct

at Jerusalem, commemorating the piercing of this great tunnel which is known to have been made in the reign of Hezekiah (729–699). More remarkable by reason of its ancient date, a century and a half earlier, *c.* 850, in the same language and writing, was the great inscription of Mesha, king of Moab, who was at war with Ahab, king of Israel, and took vengeance on Israel for the earlier successes of Omri, father of Ahab. This triumphal text carved by the Moabite king in his capital on a black granite stele is a document of incomparable value because it confirms the Biblical story of the events to which it relates. (The stele<sup>1</sup> is in the Museum of the Louvre in Paris.) Such was for a long time the only information we possessed, and it carried back to the ninth century the employment of the Phœnician alphabet.

Round about the year 1900 the discovery in the ruins of Byblus of the plinth of a statue bearing the cartouches of Shishak I, king of Egypt (beginning of the XXII<sup>nd</sup> dynasty, between 950 and 900), at the same time as a *Phœnician* inscription of two lines made up of the titles of King Abibaal<sup>2</sup> showed that this alphabet was earlier than Mesha, perhaps a century earlier. But we were to learn later on that the use of this writing was much older even than that.

Great epigraphic discoveries were made after the 1914 War, mainly at Byblus, in the course of such French excavations as those of the new Beirut *Service des Antiquités* and those of the *Académie des Inscriptions* carried out by Montet. We have mentioned already (Chapter VI) the royal cemetery of Byblus at the time of the Egyptian Middle Empire, and we have explained

<sup>1</sup> Known as "the Moabite Stone."—*Trans.*

<sup>2</sup> Published by Clermont-Ganneau in 1903. For a fuller account see Dussaud in *Comptes rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions*, 1924, pp. 33 ff., and *Syria*, V, 1924, pp. 145 ff.

how a chance discovery in 1922 yielded the first tomb containing beautiful Egyptian objects of the XIIth dynasty. This led to the extended excavations of 1923 which yielded three more royal tombs of the same period, including that of Prince *Ipshemu-ibi*, son of *Ibishemu* (the names of these personages being given in the texts in hieroglyphic Egyptian), together with a fourth tomb, much more recent than the others, with a *Phœnician* inscription covering the edges of the lid of the sarcophagus. This is the famous tomb of *Ahiram*. It is dated by the evidence of the objects contained in it: two Egyptian alabaster vessels bearing the name of Ramses II, some fine Mycenæan pottery, and a Mycenæan ivory. The date of the latter objects is made quite certain by the archæology of the Aegeo-Myceno-Cretan series, and they furnish precise indications in agreement with the date of Ramses II, which is that of the Egyptian vessels, *i.e.* during the thirteenth century. In this case, it should be noted, confirmation by these methods was by no means useless, and several indications were of greater value than a single one. The new discovery, indeed, carried back the origin of Phœnician writing at one stroke to the thirteenth century instead of the tenth, and this recession of three centuries seemed surprising and almost inadmissible to many scholars, especially those of the German school, who wanted to lower the date of *Ahiram* to about the year 1000. To them alone the vessels of Ramses II would be no obstacle to this chronology: they might have been antique vessels placed in the tomb at the time of burial. (Generally speaking, the presence of a dated object in any tomb is conclusive proof only that the tomb dates from the same period as the object or a later period.) In these circumstances there obviously remains only the

*archæological* evidence of the painted Mycenæan vessels and the ivory. But this evidence, it may be acknowledged, is convincing enough to settle the question.<sup>1</sup>

Having already dealt with the history of the early days of the kingdom of Byblus (Chapters V and VI), we may here note in passing the way in which it continued. After the kings of the tombs contemporary with the XIIth Egyptian dynasty (c. 1900), followed by the events of the Amarna period (c. 1350, XVIIIth dynasty) with king Rib-Addi of Byblus, whose history we know, we come to this Ahiram of the thirteenth century, whose name is the same as that borne later by *Hiram* of Tyre, the contemporary of Solomon. After this, at Byblus itself, comes Abibaal in the tenth century, referred to above, whose documents were acquired long ago.

Acquisitions and discoveries for the period after Ahiram increased in number after 1924. In 1925 it was learnt that on the bust of a statue of Osorkon I, still belonging to the XXIInd Egyptian dynasty, c. 900, which had long been known but had only recently come to the Louvre, was a Phœnician inscription of Elibaal, king of Byblus.<sup>2</sup> In 1926 there was published a bronze spear-head with a Phœnician inscription, from Roueiseh, near Nabatiye, in southern Lebanon.<sup>3</sup> And finally, in 1930, came a new archaic Phœnician inscription of one Yehimelek.<sup>4</sup>

It is to be noted that between Ahiram, the earliest

<sup>1</sup> For Ahiram's tomb and its date see Montet, in *Comptes rendus de l'Académie*, 1923, pp. 342 ff., and *Syria*, IV, 1923, pp. 334 ff.; Dussaud, in *Syria*, V, 1924, pp. 135 ff., and VI, 1925, p. 107. See also Février, *La genèse de l'alphabet d'après les découvertes récentes*, in *Rev. de l'histoire de la philosophie*, etc., April 15, 1933, pp. 100 and 120.

<sup>2</sup> See Dussaud, in *Syria*, VI, 1925, pp. 101 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Dussaud, in *Syria*, VIII, 1927, pp. 185 ff.

<sup>4</sup> Dussaud, in *Revue biblique*, 1930, pp. 321 ff. But see, on the same inscription, Contenau, *Civilisation phénicienne*, p. 82, where the author is inclined to attribute the monument to the Persian period.

inscription, and Abibaal and Elibaal, the development of the writing is not very marked—less so, perhaps, than between these tenth-century monuments and that of Mesha in the ninth. This is the main argument of those who wish to put Ahiram's date three centuries forward, but there remains, as we have said above, the matter of archæological accuracy.

That was the extent of our knowledge about the year 1930, when the discovery of a new document drew attention to the fact that earlier alphabetic writing, similar to the Phœnician, might have existed at dates considerably before even Ahiram and the thirteenth century. This was the potsherd from the excavations at Beth-shemesh in Palestine, bearing an inscription in ink on both sides.<sup>1</sup> This was believed by Dussaud to be simply tenth- or early ninth-century Phœnician. It is not exactly the same writing, however, and we cannot help thinking that for Phœnician the date indicated by the object would be extremely early, for the archæological stratum in which the potsherd was found is that of about 1600 (beginning of *Bronze III*, 1600–1500), and this position can scarcely be refuted. But why *Phœnician*? It is not absolutely impossible, to be sure, but neither would it be unlikely that it was another system, another attempt at an alphabet, similar and earlier, which then disappeared.<sup>2</sup> It must be recalled in connexion with this discovery (for it does not seem

<sup>1</sup> For the Beth-shemesh potsherd see Dussaud, in *Syria*, XI, 1930, pp. 392 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Information has only lately reached us of another discovery—that of a fragment of a stele at Byblus, unfortunately found in displaced ruins, bearing an inscription in alphabetic characters (judging from their number) very similar in appearance to archaic Phœnician and related also to those of the "pseudo-hieroglyphic" specimen from Byblus (very probably evidence of an attempt at a syllabary), to be discussed later. For the new alphabetic document see Dussaud, *Une nouvelle inscription énigmatique*, etc., in *Mélanges Maspero*, I, 1938, pp. 567 ff.



to have been done sufficiently hitherto) that for twenty or twenty-five years we have had knowledge in a neighbouring region of a writing that is certainly alphabetic and certainly also non-Phœnician. This is to be ascribed with certainty to the period of the Egyptian New Empire, the XVIIIth dynasty, which is precisely around the date 1500, which seems to be that of the potsherd just mentioned.

The inscriptions in question are the *palæo-Sinaitic*, discovered in 1905 at Serabit el-Khadim in the peninsula of Sinai, in the neighbourhood of Egyptian monuments and intermingled with them. These new inscriptions, however, are not numerous and are very short. They are on stelæ or statuettes in the Egyptian style and contemporaneous with the Egyptian objects and texts around them. Two of the inscriptions are bilingual, one text being the hieroglyphic and therefore very useful for determining the date of the other, which is that of the New Empire, or more precisely the XVIIIth dynasty, say about 1500. The characters of the new writing are very simple ones, and to judge from their number, which is under thirty, they certainly form an alphabet. How it is to be deciphered remains a mystery. Some of the characters resemble Phœnician letters, while others are like simplified Egyptian hieroglyphics, as though they were derived from cursive forms of the latter. There is a whole library of attempts at decipherment since 1908. The results are not entirely negative, for starting from the bilingual text known from the beginning, in which the Egyptian text relates to *Hathor*, the lady of the desert settlements, the word which in the unknown alphabetic text corresponds to the name of this goddess was successfully picked out at an early stage. Then, basing conclusions on the most

certain of the resemblances of characters with the Phœnician, it was possible to recognize in the four characters forming the vocable those of the word *b-('ayin)-l-t*, *Ba'alt*, the *Lady*, the goddess known to us so well in Asia. This word, written in the same way, occurs frequently in all the other inscriptions in the group, which are invocations to the local divinity. But apart from this certain reading no progress has been made, and despite all attempts it may be said that since 1915 or 1917 the problem has remained stationary at the same point. All we know, in short, apart from the reading of these four signs for *Ba'alt*, is that this was an alphabet in use round about 1500, *i.e.* two or three centuries earlier than the earliest evidences of ordinary Phœnician. Was it the ancestor from which Phœnician was derived? That is not a very likely supposition, for in that case it would undoubtedly be possible to decipher the earlier system by means of the Phœnician already known. It is therefore a different and entirely independent system, and we are bound to admit that the Phœnician was neither the only nor the first attempt at alphabetic writing.

This theory of the multiplicity of alphabetic experiments in the initial stages received the most striking and certain confirmation a few years ago by the discovery of a system that is quite different, purely alphabetic, and completely independent of all the others. Its monuments belong to the fourteenth or thirteenth century, the very period of the earliest known Phœnician. They are the *Ras-Shamra* texts.




We have already spoken of this important coastal town near Latakiah. Extensive excavations have been carried on there since 1929, leading to the discovery of a great city and palace with an important library of



tablets covered with cuneiform characters, *i.e.* inscribed in the Babylonian manner on clay tablets with the style of the Babylonian scribe which leaves characteristic nail-shaped marks in the clay. It is not Akkadian, however, as at Amarna in Egypt, and neither is it, as at Boghaz Keui, a collection of Akkadian characters used to write another language, for the Ras-Shamra signs are not Akkadian and have nothing in common with it except the materials used (style and tablets) and therefore their general appearance. But not a single sign agrees with or even resembles Akkadian: it is a system of independent characters. It was clear also at the first glance that it was an alphabetic system because of the small number of the signs in a body of texts which has become of considerable size since the first year of the discoveries.<sup>1</sup> Since then the excavations have continued and the same tablets have been found each year in great numbers.

The first attempts at decipherment were made in 1930 by Bauer and Dhorme independently of each other, but, strangely enough, both starting from the same idea that the language must be Phœnician. So they proceeded by trying to find the frequent presence of certain particular signs which might chance to stand for certain particles or grammatical forms that were common in sentences in the known Phœnician language. It is wonderful that they both made such progress from this slender starting-point. But though setting out in the right direction Bauer was held up by an unlucky misinterpretation. Dhorme at once went further and more correctly: in 1930 Bauer admitted that he was right, and continuing on the same lines obtained very good transcriptions

<sup>1</sup> See the reports of Schaeffer, Dussaud, and Virolleaud, in *Syria*, 1929 and later years.

and was able to begin translating. In 1931 Dhorme was still progressing and obtained 24 or 25 values which were later to be proved correct.<sup>1</sup>

But a real clue had been discovered by Virolleaud, who deciphered the alphabet and began to publish and translate the texts in 1931 and 1932.<sup>2</sup> The starting-point was the initial letter of certain texts, taken to be identical with the particle *l*, the preposition "to" preceding a personal name in addressing a letter. Virolleaud therefore collected all the words containing this letter *l*, assumed to be identified, to see whether any of them might be Semitic words in current use, particularly the word *mlk*, "king," and the attempt resulted in the identification of this word. Assuming that the hypothetical starting sign  meant *l*, there was a group  which might be supposed to be *mlk*, and this was the more probable because there was also  which would then be equivalent to *mlkm*, the plural of "king." Thus the values were obtained, subject to verification, of two signs representing *m* and *k*.

The same method was continued. In those texts which might often relate to religious matters search could be made, in this land to the north of Canaan, for references to the god *Baal* whose name was written in the Phœnician manner with three letters, *b-'* ('*ayin*) *-l*, revealed by the final *l*. Now a group  was frequently met with which, assuming it to be *b-'l*, would yield the signs for *b* and '*ayin*, subject always to the original hypothesis. By continuing this process another very simple word written  immediately

<sup>1</sup> Dhorme, in *Revue biblique*, 1930, p. 571, and 1931, pp. 1 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Virolleaud, in *Syria*, 1931, *passim*, and various notes by Dussaud.

became clear, for it should in all probability be read as *bt*, "house," or "daughter," thus adding to the list the sign for *t*. So Virolleaud advanced step by step, referring the assumed values, confirmed or doubtful, to other groups where they made it possible for the values of new signs to be inferred, and so on until all the inferred values were found everywhere to yield known Semitic words and ordinary intelligible sentences.

In 1931 Virolleaud was able to publish, translate, and annotate a large number of Ras-Shamra texts. There is a very extensive collection of these texts and the fortunate decipherer has ever since continued to publish and study them, so that his work is at the present time well advanced.

A remarkable feature is that the language is not pure Phœnician, but another variety of what may be described in a wider and more general sense as Canaanite. The Ras-Shamra language is that of northern Syria. Neither is the alphabet exactly superimposed on the Phœnician one: it is richer, possessing three *aleph*'s, two *p*'s, though we cannot differentiate their pronunciation, two *cade*'s, and two *'ayin*'s. These variant forms may perhaps denote whole syllables containing different terminal vowels, so that this alphabetic multiplicity shows signs of an earlier syllabic system similar to the Cypriote, which may have been simplified to the almost purely alphabetic form in which we have it.

This fourteenth- or thirteenth-century alphabet in northern Syria was quite obviously made by people who used the Akkadian cuneiform writing and invented an alphabet, most probably by creating the forms of the characters out of nothing. Much superfluous and needless labour has been expended in trying to find resemblances and sources of origin of the forms. The

most natural and perhaps the simplest view is that the forms of the characters were not borrowed or adapted from elsewhere, which would be a laborious task, but just made by pure invention. The operation of making this equipment is the simplest in the world once the logical, psychological, and analytical task of grasping the principle of the alphabetic structure of language has been accomplished.

Including, then, the palæo-Sinaitic, which is much poorer and not yet deciphered, and the ordinary Phœnician, we have altogether three complete and independent alphabetic systems in the same part of Asia, one dating from around 1500 and the other two, as we have them, from the thirteenth or fourteenth century. This shows the *multiplicity* of invention already mentioned, as well as the essential characteristic that the various experiments were *independent* of each other.

The Phœnician system alone among its competitors was to survive and attain success in the world in the centuries following. But the conclusion to be drawn from this multiplicity of invention in general is simply this: that the time was ripe for this invention in a highly civilized Semitic Mediterranean land, that the principle came to light throughout the entire Syro-Palestinian area, and that the systems came to birth without previous agreement, each on its own account, in different places, and in quite different forms according to local circumstances and influences and the ingenuity or fancy of the first inventors.

Attempts were not made only in the direction of alphabetic systems, however, or rather the invention of alphabets was not the first invention of this kind. Alphabets must have been preceded by syllabaries, of varying simplicity and success, of which the simply

arranged Cypriote one is an enduring example. There were undoubtedly others in the course of the second millennium, which may or may not have been derived from that system of the Cretan tablets which, as we have seen, had in the middle of that millennium reached the stage of a fine cursive syllabary, though still encumbered by ideograms and determinatives. One of these forgotten systems emerged from obscurity with the discovery of a specimen, the only one so far, in the form of an inscription from Byblus published in 1930.<sup>1</sup> It consists of a stone of unknown date (made use of again in the construction of a modern building) carved with ten lines of 123 characters containing 38 forms. This figure is itself much too high for an alphabet, and, considering that there may be still more characters not included, it is highly probable that we have here a syllabary of some sixty characters. There are figures of hieroglyphic appearance, fairly simple but still definitely pictographic, such as *bird*, *coiled adder*, *reaping-hook*, and other very clear figures often similar to Egyptian and Hittite hieroglyphics, while some six or eight of the signs resemble rather the archaic Phœnician. But so far there seems not the least prospect of deciphering them.

The history of the preparation of a syllabary is on the whole very clear. The main hieroglyphic systems in their settled classical form, such as the Egyptian and the Babylonian, were already more or less systematic, regular, and simple syllabaries, still using ideograms for various purposes within the syllabic framework that was henceforth fundamental and already systematically arranged. From systems of this kind there emerged at the next stage the syllabary proper, such as the *Cretan*,

<sup>1</sup> Dussaud, in *Syria*, XI, 1930, pp. 1 ff.

which still included determinatives, though these were felt to be superfluous and were ready to disappear. This was accomplished in the succeeding *Cypriote* form, fortunately preserved, which is an extremely simple and clever system, purely phonetic and almost as easily handled as an ordinary alphabet. But the alphabet had already been in existence for more than a thousand years at the time of the Cypriote system. It was invented in principle before and around 1500 in the entire Syro-Palestinian area, and took shape in various places in the form of independent and very different systems, three of which are known to us, *viz.* the palæo-Sinaitic, the Ras-Shamra, and the ordinary Phœnician. Even in the case of the Phœnician, which is by far the best known, we do not know exactly whether the forms of the characters were borrowed or created out of nothing, but this point, we must repeat, is a detail of no importance.

The various alphabets did not remain in competition with each other for many centuries. All except the Phœnician seem undoubtedly to have disappeared by the year 1000. In the first millennium they were cast into oblivion by the triumph of the completely successful Phœnician.



## CHAPTER XI

### PERIOD OF INDEPENDENCE (FROM 1200 TO EARLY NINTH CENTURY)

THE history of the land of Phœnicia-Palestine during its three centuries of independence, roughly from 1200 to 900, is not well known, for before and after this period our knowledge is obtained from the great world powers with which it was incorporated. When this land was left to itself it ceased to become known to us because it did not exist as a unified State, the hundreds of cities and principalities of which it was composed were left to their own devices, and even when they fell foul of each other the sound of the clash did not pass beyond the bounds of the little world between Egypt and the Euphrates barrier.

None the less we have a little information about some from among this swarm of cities. From the royal monuments already mentioned at *Byblus*, where so far most of the excavation has been done, there have emerged first an inscription of a king *Yehimelek*, later than Ahiram, most probably in the twelfth or eleventh century, and then, in the tenth century, two monuments attesting the abiding loyalty of Byblus to its Egyptian suzerain. One of these is an inscription of king *Abibaal* on a statue of the Pharaoh Shishak I, and the other an inscription of king *Elibaal* on a statue of Osorkon, both in Phœnician and written in the Phœnician alphabet, added to the Pharaonic monuments with their legends in purely Egyptian hieroglyphics.

We have very interesting information also about

tenth-century *Tyre* in the Bible, which has preserved the history of the kings of Israel and Judah in their relations with the Tyrians. Tyre became to some extent the capital of maritime Phœnicia, taking the lead in commerce and colonial expansion in the Mediterranean, and it was Tyre that was chiefly known to the kingdom of Jerusalem at the height of its own power under its earliest kings. Solomon was a friend and ally of *Hiram* or *Ahiram* of Tyre (the namesake of the king of Byblus three centuries earlier), who reigned for thirty or forty years round about 950 and was the son of King *Abibaal*, not to be confused with his royal namesake of Byblus just mentioned. We may recall the story of Ahiram of Tyre sending cedars of Lebanon to Solomon for the building of the temple at Jerusalem and remark in passing that the Israelites used the term *Sidonians* to denote all the peoples on this coast.

Hiram's son, *Baal-Utsur*, reigned for seven years, about 935, and was succeeded by *Abdastart*, who was dethroned. After this came a troubled half-century until the restoration of *Ithobal*, about 890 or 885. In the interval the schism had taken place in Israel in 933. In the time of Ithobal *Jehoshaphat* reigned in Judah and *Ahab* in Israel. Ahab received in marriage Jezebel, daughter of Ithobal, and Jezebel's daughter Athaliah married *Jehoram*, king of Judah (849-842). This family alliance between the kingdoms of Israel and Judah had excellent political consequences. The whole family incurred the reproaches of the orthodox in the succeeding period for introducing foreign forms of worship into Israel. This is amply attested by the prophetic literature, and the reproaches seem to have been well founded. But it is no doubt equally true that the cultural and material state of affairs in this period was favourable.

The presence of the Syrian princesses at Jerusalem and Samaria between 880 and 840 also shows the general predominance of Phœnicia in the little world of Phœnicia-Palestine in this century.

During this period, in the ninth century, Tyre began to extend widely and to colonize in the Mediterranean in conjunction with all the similar activity of the other Phœnician cities. But Tyre was the leader in this great movement, as is shown by its well-known settlements in Cyprus and Rhodes, to which we shall return in detail later. The earliest date of these is difficult to determine, but it must have been in the ninth century, according to the semi-legendary traditions of the Greeks about the origin of *Carthage*, much further to the west, which may have been founded about 815. The settlement of Carthage is attributed to the descendants of that Ithobal who gave his daughter to Ahab of Israel, c. 870. Revolutions and family disturbances at Tyre, fifty or sixty years later, may have caused the flight of the queen Elissa who became the founder of Carthage. This is a legendary detail which has no great value for accuracy but helps to fix the period approximately.

Earlier than this, however, a little after 880, is to be dated what may be called the end of Phœnicia's independence and her return to the main stream of history in circumstances probably somewhat disastrous for her. This was due to the appearance on the Mediterranean seaboard of the Assyrians, sufficiently developed and strengthened to carry the extension of their empire as far as this. Assyrian domination was to last from about 875 to 625. We shall relate the history of these two and a half centuries of subjection to the Assyrians, to be followed by the Persian domination, which was to

end after three centuries in the Macedonian conquest of 330.

But before relating the general history of these 550 years we shall first gather together the purely Phœnician facts in regard to Mediterranean colonization, from its far-off beginnings down to about the year 559, when Carthage took the place of its fallen Syrian metropolis in the Great Sea.

## CHAPTER XII

### PHŒNICIAN EXPANSION AND MEDITERRANEAN COLONIZATION (TENTH TO SIXTH CENTURY)

THE city of Tyre, whose influence was predominant in the great maritime area from about 1000 onwards, had important colonies in Cyprus—Citium, Idalium, Lape thus, etc.—where she was soon in competition with the Greeks of Asia Minor, their rivalry being particularly keen in the eighth and seventh centuries. Generally speaking, the Phœnicians occupied the south coast and the Greeks the rest of the island.

At Rhodes, much further to the west, and therefore in a much more Hellenic atmosphere, the Tyrians had the settlements of Ialysus and Camirus. Phœnician action in this quarter was checked by the Greeks and soon ended in a kind of stoppage or equilibrium. Phœnician activity is seen also, though to a smaller extent, on the Pamphylian coast, in Crete, and in the Sporades and Cyclades.

In Egypt a colony is known near Memphis called the *Field of the Tyrians*, at the time of the Saïte kings.

In Sicily the principal Phœnician settlements on the north coast—Panormus (Palermo), Soluntum (Solonte), etc.—belong to the early period. (Later on we shall find these names reappearing for a long time in the history of Carthaginian domination and its struggles for the possession of Sicily.)

In Malta the Phœnicians possessed Gaulus (Gozo), and far to the west, halfway between Tunis and Sicily, the important station of Pantelleria. There were

stations also on the south coast of Sardinia and in the Balearic Islands, notably at Iviça, where the Carthaginians settled in 650.

On the north coast of Africa was a regular group of places in what is now Tunisia around the principal centre, Carthage, whose foundation may go back, as we have seen, to the end of the ninth century. Near by were Hadrumentum, and Utica on the Gulf of Carthage. The latter city was the earliest of the Tyrian settlements on this coast, dating probably from about 1100.

On the European coast was Marseilles, founded about 600.

Finally, in the extreme west, were Gadir (Gades, Cadiz) at the mouth of the Guadalquivir, dating from the ninth or eighth century, and on the same Atlantic coast, west of the Straits, the famous Tartessus (the Biblical *Tarshish*), the name containing the same root as that of Tarsus in Cilicia, whose people were no doubt its first colonizers. In this country we shall find the Phœnicians in competition in the seventh and sixth centuries with the Phocæan Greeks, particularly in the region of Malaga.

After the sixth century, as we have said, the hegemony of Carthage replaced that of the old eastern metropolis in the Great Sea. We shall relate the history of this later on.

## CHAPTER XIII

### THE ASSYRIAN PERIOD (EARLY NINTH CENTURY TO 612)

THE natural routes from the Mesopotamian area to the Mediterranean reach the west coast, of course, in the most northerly part of Syria, and it was naturally in that region that the Assyrians first arrived. *Tiglath-pileser I* had already occupied Arvad (c. 1100), but this conquest was of short duration. After him began the great eclipse of Assyrian power which lasted till about 900, when the Second Assyrian Empire began. This was the starting-point of a political and military renaissance which was very marked in the reign of *Ashur-nadin-pal* (884-860), who, as we learn from his Annals, received tribute from the kings of the sea-coast, Tyre, Sidon, Byblus, and Arvad. His son *Shalmaneser III* (860-825) directed his military operations against the same coast, received the submission of Tyre, Sidon, and Byblus, and defeated the king of Arvad in battle. In his reign also there was a fight to subdue the inland region, and the Assyrians had long wars to wage against Damascus and Israel (Jehu, king of Israel 842-815, was a vassal of Assyria).

Assyrian efforts were then diverted from the Mediterranean for seventy or eighty years, the empire being too busy in other directions. Its armies reappeared in the west with *Tiglath-pileser III* (745-728), who was victorious in several campaigns, notably against Hiram II of Tyre (who was also king of Sidon and had settlements in Cyprus, according to a Phœnician inscription

discovered in that island), and then against Byblus and Arvad.

The events of these twenty years show us, as happened a century before, that the submission of the Mediterranean was inseparable from military operations in the interior. These were pushed as far as southern Judea, and their detailed history is interesting. Israel and Judah since their separation in 933 had been sometimes allies but much more often at war with each other, with various allies on either side. Shortly before 730 *Pekah* king of Israel allied himself with *Rezin* king of Damascus against Judah, then ruled by *Ahaz* (736-728), who called in the Assyrians to his aid. Tiglath-pileser in 734 had almost finished subduing the coast towns, so he was able to take Damascus, where Rezin was killed, and Ahaz went himself to Damascus to do homage to Tiglath-pileser. Pekah was assassinated at Samaria by *Hoshea*, who succeeded him in 730.

Tiglath-pileser was succeeded by Shalmaneser V (728-722), of whom Hoshea was at first a submissive vassal until he ceased to pay tribute. This coincided more or less exactly with a new and formidable revolt of Tyre. *Elulaios* (Assyrian *Luli*), king of Tyre and Sidon, had up to this time remained in submission. A maritime expedition with sixty ships from Sidon, Byblus, and Arvad was organized to suppress the revolt of Tyre, but the little Tyrian fleet succeeded in destroying this superior fleet, taking five hundred prisoners, and the blockade of the island failed completely after five years' effort. But during this time Samaria fell in 722 after a three years' siege, and this ended the kingdom of Israel.

The inference to be drawn from all this is that until 722 Assyrian domination remained very precarious,



endangered and restored from reign to reign, and constantly threatened by the revolts of the small states—Israel, Judah, Damascus, and the coastal cities, either separately or together. But the position was improved and stabilized by the great emperors who followed.

*Sargon* (722–705) held the whole of Phœnicia, except Tyre, in peaceful vassalage. Cyprus was conquered, no doubt by Phœnician fleets in the service of the imperial government. Tyre alone remained unsubdued, having triumphantly resisted the long attack of Shalmaneser V. Elulaios still reigned there, and the Assyrians tried a new siege lasting several months without bringing his resistance to an end.

*Sennacherib* was the next ruler (705–680). At the very beginning of his reign he had naturally to face an insurrection planned apparently by the same redoubtable Elulaios, who had with him Askelon and Ekron and was supported by the alliance of Egypt. In 701 the Assyrians arrived and met and defeated an Egyptian army before Ekron. Judea suffered fearful ravages although king Hezekiah had not fully joined the revolting league. He made solemn submission to the emperor at Lachish. Sennacherib overthrew the maritime league, Elulaios fled to Cyprus, and the emperor put one *Ithobal* in his place. Arvad under its king *Abdimilik*, and Byblus under *Urumilki*, together with Ashdod and Gaza, had abstained from intervention, and received their reward at the hands of the Assyrian government.

From that time onward the only threat to the Assyrian power was that of Egypt. The Pharaoh *Tirhakah* (c. 688) made a move, and Sennacherib left Judea and Philistia to march against him. But the expedition was unsuccessful, the Assyrian army meeting with destruction in Lower Egypt as a result of a serious and

mysterious calamity, no doubt the disease of which we are told only in a fanciful Israelite tradition. But however that may be, Sennacherib made a hasty retreat to Nineveh.

For Phœnicia-Palestine this was the beginning of a fairly long period of peace (Hezekiah reigned in Jerusalem till 699). In Assyria the still brilliant reign of Sennacherib lasted for seven or eight years more.

*Esarhaddon* (680–668) had a great and peaceful reign, made familiar to us by its excellent Annals. But there was still much difficulty with Sidon and Tyre. After Ithobal, who was made king by Sennacherib, one *Abd-Milkut* was king of Sidon. He revolted in 678 and was dethroned and slain. At Tyre there was a King *Baal*, apparently a faithful vassal, of whom we possess a kind of treaty of commerce and vassalage with Assyria. Yet in 672 Tyre revolted and made an alliance with Tirhakah of Egypt. There followed a new siege of Tyre and an Assyrian victory, commemorated by the well-known stele of Zenjirli, which shows the emperor holding on a leash, with his teeth, the kings of Egypt and Tyre. As a matter of fact it is certain that the king of Egypt was not captured, and so far as Tyre is concerned it is highly probable that the island remained inviolate this time also.

The proof of this earlier check is provided by *Ashur-bani-pal* (668–625), for he at once proceeded to attack Tyre. He did not manage to take it, but he carried away some hostages and princesses. The rest of Phœnicia remained submissive, especially the northern part, whence the king of Arvad came to renew his homage on the occasion of the expedition against Tyre. *Cyprus* seems still to have belonged to the Assyrians. The Phœnicians actually profited by this position in the

Mediterranean, for it was by the might of the Phœnician navy that the imperial rule was exercised in this sea.

During this long period whose history has thus been summarized the question arises, What was the meaning and the underlying value of this costly struggle maintained by the Assyrian Government against the indomitable city of Tyre as well as against such independence as remained in the interior, *viz.* Judah and her allies? Some understanding can, however, be obtained of the mind of the Assyrians and their always difficult position, faced by the great Egyptian power that still eluded their attacks and might at any moment endanger their empire in this middle region by the mere effect of its influence on Assyria's vassals in Phœnicia-Palestine. It was the ordinary fate of designs of imperial conquest that was thus imposed on the Assyrians, just as at a later date it was to lead the Persians, masters of the Ionian coast, to attack the Hellenes across the sea. For the moment, however, it is clear that the Assyrian empire was on the defensive against Egypt in Phœnicia and around Judea, and was preparing for an eventual offensive on the territory of the African power.

In 612 came the great event—the downfall of Ashur, which had been tottering since the later years of Ashur-bani-pal. Under his feeble successor the Babylonians, with a reorganized government, had allied themselves with the Medes, an entirely new power, to annihilate Assyria. This was the work of Nabopolassar of Babylon and Kyaxares, king of the Medes.

Phœnicia then fell back, no doubt with pleasure, under the domination of Egypt, where the Ethiopian period had ended and the splendid period of the Saïte renaissance had begun half a century earlier with Psammetichus I.

## CHAPTER XIV

### BABYLONIAN AND PERSIAN PERIODS (609-333)

THE Egyptian domination did not last long. *Necho* (609-573), the successor of *Psammetichus*, remained complete master of Syria till at least 606. It may be noted that *Josiah*, king of Judah, had been killed at Megiddo (609) in war against Egypt. But *Nebuchadnezzar II* (*Nabukodorossor*), king of Babylon from 606 to 562, started a campaign in 604 against the Egyptians, who held the whole of Syria. At the battle of Carchemish *Necho* was defeated and compelled to leave Asia. In 597 *Nebuchadnezzar* took Jerusalem and there followed the first deportation of the Judeans to Babylon.

*Psammetichus II* (593-588) made no attacks on Asia. *Apries* (588-569) attempted on his accession to recapture the former possessions of Egypt in alliance with Tyre and Sidon. *Nebuchadnezzar* subdued the Phœnicians, took Tyre (the first time the island had been actually conquered), and then took Jerusalem in 586. Thus ended the kingdom of Judah. Tyre henceforth remained obedient.

*Apries* was succeeded by *Amasis* (569-526), under whom hostilities in Asia began again. *Nebuchadnezzar* marched against Egypt in 568 and imposed peace on the frontiers of *Amasis*, who made no further attempts in that region for fifteen years.

Syria-Palestine henceforth took no part in events for several centuries, at least so far as she alone was concerned: at the time of the beginning of the Persian empire in 538 the country passed peacefully under the

new domination and remained there steadily. The Tyrian resistance to Nebuchadnezzar seems to have been the last for a very long time. All round Phœnicia, however, in the area of which she formed an integral part, there were far-reaching events between 568 and 538. At the death of Nebuchadnezzar in 562 there were disputes as to the succession, and these lasted six years until the accession of Nabonidus in 556. The great power which shared the empire of the East with the Babylonians at this time was that of the Medes. Now in 553 the Persian *Cyrus*, in revolt against his suzerain Astyages, king of the Medes, dethroned him and made himself an independent king. The surrounding area comprised two great states, Babylonia and Lydia (western Asia Minor), where *Alyattes* had been replaced on his death in 561 by *Cræsus*. This latter king of Lydia for some fifteen years was on good terms with the Greek cities on the Ionian coast (which he held in a kind of patronage that was almost vassalage) and with the Hellenic world in general, including the States on the European side of the Aegean Sea. This explains certain peculiarities in the alliances of the great coalition that he was busily organizing after 553 against the new and very threatening power of Persia. These alliances were with Babylon under Nabonidus, Egypt under Amasis, and Sparta. But the actions of the members of the coalition were badly co-ordinated. The allies of Cræsus remained inactive while he attacked Cyrus, who took Sardes after a hard fight in 546. After this great success Cyrus turned his attention for six or seven years to the east—Iran and Bactria—and then, having consolidated his position there, he determined to put an end to the Babylonian power which alone opposed him, and he took possession of Babylon without resistance in 538.

From that time onwards the Persian empire was in being, covering the whole of the eastern world as far as the Mediterranean, and comprising Asia Minor, Ionia, and, of course, Phœnicia-Syria-Palestine, and faced by the power of Egypt. Political relations and general rivalry, however, extended towards the west, where the Hellenic world now intervened beyond the sea, facing the new eastern power and Egypt. From this moment preparations began for the great drama of the following period—the *Median wars* into which the Persian empire was drawn by the inevitable growth of imperialism, and in which Phœnicia and her fleets were to play a not inconsiderable part.

Cyrus died in 529. His son *Cambyses* (529–521) was naturally occupied first with Egypt, which he managed to conquer and hold. The history of maritime events is interesting: Amasis had allied himself with the Greek cities, especially with Polycrates of Samos, whose fleet was thus at his disposal, while Persia disposed of the fleets of Phœnicia and Cyprus. But on the accession of Cambyses, Polycrates had found himself obliged to go over to the Great King, and Amasis was left alone. He died in 526, leaving the throne to Psammetichus III, who was crushed by the Persians on the Egyptian frontier.

In the reign of *Darius* (521–485) the position of Phœnicia remained unchanged. It was the fifth satrapy of the empire, along with Syria and Cyprus. Sidon was the capital and the residence of the satrap, the king of Sidon being, generally speaking, a kind of grand admiral of the Persian fleet. This fleet, which was actually a Phœnician one, showed itself on every occasion the faithful instrument of the Great King.

Egypt was to remain subdued until its revolt in 486. Persia devoted twenty or thirty years in the reign of

Darius to preparing a war of conquest against Greece. We shall not relate the history of that enterprise, merely recalling the great attempt at maritime invasion in 490 which was to end at Marathon and in which Phœnicia no doubt shared.

This is not the place to describe in full the remarkable organization of the Persian empire of which so many features were retained by the powers that succeeded it, down to the end of the period of the ancient world. It was a firm and flexible system in which the States that were subdued were converted into satrapies with wide administrative autonomy, subject to the payment of an annual tribute and contributing to collective obligations and acts. An effective and ingenious control was exercised over one another in each State capital by the *satrap*, the *secretary* under the direct orders of the emperor, and the *general*, while the emperor himself played a personal part also in the various parts of the governmental machinery. Here we shall confine our attention to a single point of importance in regard to the history of technical progress, *viz.* the origin of *money*, which may be held to date from the reign of Darius. This applies to money in the strict sense, guaranteed by the effigy of the administrator and in general use. Some experiments in this direction had undoubtedly been made in much earlier times, for there are traces of primitive monetary systems in the shape of stamped ingots of unit weight very far back in Egyptian antiquity, and in the middle of the first millennium appeared the archaic coins of Thrace, whose analogues spread throughout the whole Hellenic area, the Aegean Sea, and Ionia. The system was elaborated in Lydia about the time of Alyattes and Croesus. But the true starting-point of monetary organization was

the *silver shekel* (86·4 grains) of Darius and his successors. It was not till later that *gold* money appeared, first among the Persians, but perhaps at the same time among the Lydians.

*Xerxes* (485–462) began by reconquering Egypt, which had revolted in 486 under the usurper *Khababesha*, and then made fresh preparations for the invasion of Greece by land and sea. We know for a certainty that the Phœnician armies and fleets played a great part in these enterprises. In 480, as is well known, continental Greece was invaded and Athens was ravaged with fire and sword, but under the very eyes of *Xerxes* the Persian fleet was defeated at Salamis, obliging the Persians to withdraw and saving Greece. In the sea-fight at Salamis the Phœnician contingents fought gloriously, resisting and covering the retreat even when the battle was lost. The war continued after that for two or three years longer.

The rest of the history of Phœnicia was comparatively uneventful. For 150 years the country remained a Persian satrapy, with occasional attempts at going over to the Greeks. This happened, for instance, about 360, in the time of king *Strato*, called the Philhellene, and again in 346 in the reign of king *Tennes*, who was put to death when the revolt was suppressed by Artaxerxes (Ochus), while Sidon was cruelly pillaged.

Archæological discoveries have acquainted us with certain other kings of Sidon whose historical position is difficult to determine with certainty. They belong to the small dynasty whose tombs, containing large sarcophagi and Phœnician inscriptions, were found at Sidon about 1850 and 1877. These reveal the existence of *Eshmunazar I*, father of the *Tabnit* whose sarcophagus is in the great museum at the Ottoman capital,



as well as of *Amashtart* and another son. Tabnit married his sister *Amashtart*, and their son was *Eshmunazar II*, whose sarcophagus is in the Louvre. He had no son and was succeeded by *Bodashtart*, grandson of *Eshmunazar I* through his other son who did not reign, and *Bodashtart* was the father of *Yatumilik*. The date of this dynasty is disputed: it is sometimes placed during the sixth century, sometimes between 470 and 410, and sometimes even later, between 332 and 280, these periods corresponding to the gaps in the series of coins, which are the only intervals where we can suppose these kings to be placed. The most likely date is the fifth century—earlier, therefore, than the kings *Strato* and *Tennes* mentioned above.

Whatever may have been the precise position of this family, the general course of events between 480 and 330 did not change. In 333 the battle of Issus and the *Macedonian conquest* brought about the downfall of the Persian power and its replacement by that of Alexander. In Phœnicia the results were different in different places. The Phœnician cities for the most part accepted the conqueror readily: this was particularly the case with Sidon, Byblus, and Arvad, but Tyre refused to submit, necessitating the long and famous siege whose story recalls that of the days of *Nebuchadnezzar II*, with the additional episode of the building of the causeway that destroyed for ever the insular position of the city. Thus ended the history of the formidable maritime citadel which had revolted as often and for as long as resistance was possible.

## CHAPTER XV

### CARTHAGE, FROM THE SIXTH CENTURY TO THE EVE OF THE PUNIC WARS (270)

WE have already seen that the foundation of Carthage by the Tyrians took place without doubt at an early date. According to the traditions, interspersed with legends relating to the descendants for some five or six generations of the famous Hiram, the contemporary of Solomon, it would have been at the end of the ninth century or during the eighth. For several centuries this western colony was a deferential vassal of Tyre, duly respectful of the laws and customs of her mother city but certainly very active on her own account in her extensive western area. Thus, for instance, we have knowledge of the presence of Carthaginians in 550 at Iviça in the Balearic Islands. From time immemorial their rivals were the Greeks of "Western Greece," the region of which Sicily was the centre, and it was in Sicily that the rival powers met and fought until well on in the fourth century.

The men of Tyre and Sidon, as we know, had set foot on the island in very early times. Driven back by the native *Siculi* and *Sicani*, they had managed to keep the western end from *Motya*, at the extreme point, opposite the African promontory, to *Selinus* in the south and *Panormus*, *Soluntum*, and *Himera* on the north coast (from west to east). The question arises whether it may not have been from these settlements that the Tyrians went forth to found the city of Carthage. At all events it was after the coming of these Phœnicians that the

great Greek colonization took place, in which all parts of Greece took part and which covered the large island. During the seventh century, so far as we can make out—though the chronology is hard to determine accurately—Phœnician pressure began to increase and become threatening. The Phœnicians, as we have seen, held *Malta* and the neighbouring islands, *Tharros* in southern Sardinia, and *Iviça*. In Sicily they remained concentrated in the west, facing Carthage, which very probably had a dominating influence over Sicilian enterprises in the seventh century. This was certainly the case at all events at the beginning of the sixth century, when the disaster that befell Tyre in 586 caused the Phœnician dominance of the western world to be transferred to Carthage.

It was at this moment that the Greeks took the offensive, seeking from the year 580 to extend into this western corner of Sicily. At first they met with no success, and about 560 the Carthaginians, led by the suffete *Malchos*, made a vigorous counter-attack which drove back the Greeks on a wide front. This was the beginning of a prosperous period for Carthage.

The government of Carthage was aristocratic. Two *suffetes*, elected and re-eligible, acted in the name of the senate, to which was added a popular assembly. The aristocratic power, though very real, had chanced to fall into the hands of a certain number of powerful families consisting of ship-owners, traders, and warriors. The system was that of a warlike plutocracy, well armed and formidable.

*Malchos*, however, after the success of 560, was beaten in Sardinian expeditions and banished from Carthage. He therefore captured the city by force and set up his own government there. He was succeeded

by his son Mago, under whose rule the might of Carthage increased still further. The Carthaginians in alliance with the Etruscans drove the Greeks out of Corsica in 535, and expeditions were also undertaken against Sardinia and Spain. In 509 a treaty of friendship was made between Carthage and Rome. At the end of the century Carthage was firmly established at her bases—Panormus, Soluntum, and Motya.

About the year 490 the time seemed to have come for Carthage to resume the offensive. There were several reasons in favour of this course. To begin with there was her alliance with the Etruscans, and the fact that the Greek cities in Sicily were divided into rival confederations which were in some cases inclined to adopt a friendly attitude towards the Carthaginian cities. Then there was the important fact that the Persians were preparing their great invasion of Greece itself. Yet at this moment a great power on the Greek side was arising and growing stronger in Sicily: as the result of events which we shall not describe in detail *Gelo* took possession of Gela on the south coast and then conquered Syracuse (482), making it his abode and leaving Gela to his brother Hiero. He formed a fleet, an army, and a great port. His power became the centre of the Greek organization in Sicily and was directed principally against the threatening might of Carthage.

War broke out over Himera, whose possession was disputed by the adherents of the two sides, but it is highly probable that behind it all an understanding had been reached between the Persians and the Carthaginians for the launching of a simultaneous attack. Mago, still master of Carthage, fitted out a huge military expedition, and in 480 *Hamilcar* was sent with a large fleet. He landed at Panormus and laid siege to

Himera, but Gelo's army came up and the campaign ended in disaster for the Carthaginians, Hamilcar himself being slain.

Peace was made with Gelo, after which the Carthaginians remained in their positions in the west, but were compelled for a long time to stay there quietly. It is a very remarkable coincidence—though there is every reason to believe, as we have said, that the simultaneity of events was not fortuitous—that in this year 480 the Greeks were freed on both sides, from the great Persian attack in the Aegean and the Carthaginian offensive in Sicily.

Gelo died in 478 and was succeeded by his brother Hiero, a most important figure. It was a good period for Syracuse despite political revolutions and all the upheavals that they caused. During this century the cities of Greater Greece shared in the historic vicissitudes of Greece proper, whose government in each city or confederation capital alternated, in a slow pendulum movement, between aristocracy and democratic tyranny. Tyranny was abolished in Syracuse and the political importance of the city was increased, along with its prosperity and that of the whole country. About 450 Hellenic Sicily was prosperous and wealthy. But then came the establishment of the hegemony of Syracuse, tyrannical and to some extent ruinous for the other Greek cities, which were reduced by the terms of their alliance to a condition of frequently brutal vassalage. It is extremely interesting to observe that in this organization Syracuse faithfully followed the example set by Athens, who happened to be engaged in the great enterprise of her triumphant democratic period. This was the formation of a tyrannical imperial confederation, whose yoke weighed heavily on

most of the Aegean area, by such methods and to such an extent that a formidable spirit of resentment was aroused in the subject cities against this overmastering tyranny. So by the natural force of circumstances it was to Athens that the Sicilian cities turned when oppressed by Syracuse, and Athens responded to their appeal, being no doubt impelled to this decision by the tendency of her domestic policy to defend the cause of democracy—though imperialist in her own case—against the aristocratic forces which had the upper hand in Syracuse.

So Athens took action against Syracuse by allying herself with the other Sicilian cities and sending them help, and this slow procedure was carried on perseveringly from 450 to about 415. In the latter year Athens resolved to make an attempt which she thought would be decisive: she undertook the great Sicilian expedition—a vast enterprise which lasted two years (415–413) and ended in fearful disaster for the Athenians.

Now during these seventy years Carthage, secure on her eastern flank, had reached the height of her power in commerce, wealth, and maritime and military strength. Syracuse was emerging from the great struggle, while the might of Athens existed no longer, and Carthage judged that the moment had come to resume the conquest of Sicily. *Hannibal*, grandson of Hamilcar, who had perished in 480, attacked and captured *Selinus*, slaying the inhabitants, and then treated *Himera* in the same way, taking a cruel vengeance for the death of his grandfather (410–409). In 406 there was a new expedition against *Agrigentum* (Acragas), led by *Himilco*, the successor of Hannibal, who had like success, followed up by acts of equal ferocity.

The strong feeling engendered in Syracuse led to a

revolutionary *coup d'état* by which one *Dionysius* assumed power as tyrant, and to strengthen his position he made peace with the Carthaginians, who had taken *Gela* (405). He formed an alliance with *Sparta* and devoted his energies in the years that followed (until 397) to great preparations for his revenge against the Carthaginians.

In 397 *Dionysius* took the offensive, thus causing a general revolt of the cities in the Carthaginian area. The Syracusans advanced as far as Cape Lilybæum and took *Motya* after strong resistance. In 396 there was a Carthaginian reaction: *Himilco* landed at *Panormus* and recaptured *Motya*, while *Dionysius* retreated on Syracuse, and then took *Messana*, destroying it with savage ferocity. He next marched on Syracuse, destroyed the Greek fleet, and began the siege. But a plague broke out in his army and the Carthaginians fled, abandoning their allies and mercenaries alike.

This was the zenith of the power of *Dionysius*, who restored *Messana* and took *Rhegium* on the opposite side of the straits (387). He also made an alliance with the Gauls, who had just taken Rome. During the next twenty years he again made war on the Carthaginians on two occasions, and he sent military reinforcements to the Lacedæmonians. He died in 367.

Syracuse had a confused and complicated history under the descendants and relations of *Dionysius* until about 345. Her people were most unfortunate, being threatened with a new Carthaginian invasion after a period of peace which had lasted since 396. They asked help of their mother city Corinth, which sent an expedition in 344 and put *Timoleon* in power at Syracuse. The Carthaginian fleet under Mago was compelled to retreat.

Timoleon, a talented man in a very strong position, prepared to resist the return of the Carthaginians, who landed at Lilybæum in 340 under *Hasdrubal* and *Hamilcar*. Timoleon marched with a small army to meet this formidable and numerous foe and destroyed it near *Selinus*. This great victory was followed by the conclusion of peace with the Carthaginians, who were left in possession of the whole western part of the island as far as the neighbourhood of Agrigentum.

Timoleon died in 336 and Syracuse underwent a new period of confusion, marked by struggles between the oligarchs and the anti-oligarchs, the former seeking for an agreement with the Carthaginians. *Agathocles* managed to make himself tyrant in 317. His rule was successful and violent and in 310 he was master of all the Greek cities. But the Carthaginians attacked and defeated him at *Himera*. Smitten by this reverse *Agathocles* planned an expedition in reply to it against Carthage herself in Africa.

The expedition of *Agathocles* to Carthage, a century before the Roman adventures in the same direction, is a most remarkable story. Syracuse was besieged and *Agathocles* escaped from it with a fleet, landed in Africa, marched on Carthage, and won a battle beneath its walls. Meanwhile at Syracuse *Hamilcar* had been taken and killed while Agrigentum revolted and organized a general rising against Carthaginian rule. In order to take Carthage, *Agathocles* had allied himself with *Ophellas*, the viceroy of Ptolemy at Cyrene, but the alliance did not last long. *Agathocles* took and ravaged *Utica*, but was compelled to leave the expedition in order to see what was happening in Sicily, and when he returned to Africa he found that in his absence the army had allowed itself to be repulsed everywhere



and even to be besieged in *Tunes*. Agathocles thereupon gave up the whole enterprise, abandoned his army, which capitulated, and returned to Syracuse. There he restored the situation by making peace with the Carthaginians. His reign was to last for another twenty years, and he died in 289 after a period of rule which was, on the whole, a prosperous one.

In 279 the Carthaginians again attacked Syracuse, which called to its aid Pyrrhus, king of Epirus. The latter came to Sicily and drove the Carthaginians westward as far as the extremity of the island, but he was defeated at Lilybæum and gave up the struggle in 276.

Syracuse then renounced democracy and took for its king Hiero, a descendant of the earlier king Gelo, and then began a long and wise reign which lasted till 216. Hiero had a good understanding with the Carthaginians at the beginning, and at the commencement of the *First Punic War* in 264 he was their ally. Afterwards, however, when fate decreed otherwise, he became and remained always an ally of the Romans.

That brings us to the commencement of the *Punic Wars*. At the end of the first war Carthage was obliged to abandon Sicily, which was thenceforth divided into a Roman province in the west and an eastern part which remained under the rule of Hiero. The great struggle between Carthage and Rome and the momentous events which were to follow in the Mediterranean basin are outside the limits we have laid down for this history.

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